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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS- AFR-90-182  
Wednesday  
19 September 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-182

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19 September 1990

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## Gabon

### Coverage of National Legislative Elections

#### Ruling Party Said Leading

AB1809063890 Paris AFP in English 2349 GMT  
17 Sep 90

[Text] Libreville, Sept 17 (AFP)—The Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG, formerly the country's single party) was leading in the first round of Sunday's [16 Sep] legislative elections in Gabon with 38 deputies elected, according to provisional results released Monday evening.

The territorial administration minister, Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou added in his announcement that the vote for the 10 Libreville seats had been cancelled because of irregularities, and the same thing had happened in about 12 other districts.

The vote in Port-Gentil, where serious incidents took place in May, will be "re-staged", he said.

Mr. Mboumbou-Miyakou said that the PDG was followed in the provisional results by the National Recovery Movement (Morena) led by Rev. Paul Mba Abessole with seven deputies in the future Gabonese National Assembly, which will have 120 seats.

The Gabonese Progress Party (PGP) had four seats on the basis of the provisional results, and the Association for Socialism in Gabon three seats.

That makes a total of 52 seats decided in the first round of the first multi-party legislative elections to be held in the country in 22 years. The second round will take place next Sunday nationwide.

#### Opposition Calls for Cancellation

AB1809170890 Paris AFP in French 2148 GMT  
17 Sep 90

[Text] Libreville, 17 Sep—Several opposition leaders have requested the cancellation of the first round of the legislative elections that took place in Gabon on Sunday, 16 September, it was announced this evening in Libreville.

The request was made by Father Paul Mba Abessole, the leader of the National Recovery Movement [MORENA] faction called "Liferjack", and Mr. Nzoe Nguema, leader of the MORENA faction called "Original", Gabonese National Television announced.

The leader of the Gabonese Progress Party [PGP], Mr. Agonjo-Okawei, asked for the cancellation of the elections that took place in Port-Gentil, the Gabonese economic capital.

The various leaders explained their request by stating that there was election rigging in the first round of elections. In a television broadcast this evening, Mr.

Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou, the Gabonese minister of territorial administration, who leads the national commission in charge of centralizing election results in all districts, announced that the elections were invalid in 22 districts and in Port-Gentil.

#### MORENA Denounces 'Massive' Fraud

AB1809184590 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT  
18 Sep 90

[Text] Libreville, Sept 18 (AFP)—Leaders of Gabon's opposition parties on Tuesday pressed demands that last Sunday's vote, the first multi-party election in a quarter century, be annulled.

The vote was the first round of a two-round parliamentary elections called by President Omar Bongo. Results have only been announced for about half of the polling places.

Paul Mba Abessole, leader of a faction of the MORENA [National Recovery Movement] opposition party, called for new elections citing "frauds, deals and intimidations" on the part of Mr. Bongo's party. An official of the Gabonese Progress party also protested what he termed the "massive fraud" that should have annulled the vote automatically. Serge Mba Bekale, of the Gabonese Socialist party, formally filed a written request to the government for a cancellation of the vote.

The elections drew 553 candidates for 120 seats, and police intervened 14 times in Libreville alone. On Monday night, a minister disclosing the first results—overwhelmingly favourable to the government party—admitted that there was "disorder, extortions and irregularities." He cancelled the results in 32 [as received] districts.

Mr. Bongo, who succeeded Gabon's first president, Leon M'Ba, at his death in 1967, soon afterward created the West African nation's single party, the Gabonese Democratic party. He was reelected in single-candidate elections in 1973 and 1986.

#### French Remain in Port-Gentil for 'Reassurance'

AB1809182590 Paris AFP in French 0724 GMT  
15 Sep 90

[Text] Port-Gentil, 14 Sep [date as received] (AFP)—Four months after the riots which brought about its intervention, the French Army is still present in Port-Gentil, Gabon's economic capital, where it provides reassurance for European civilians who have flocked massively back, an AFP special correspondent has observed. Only their families have not yet returned to the oil city, which they hurriedly left in May.

It may be recalled that after three days of rioting and the taking of several French hostages, the French Army intervened "at the request and upon the approval of the Gabonese Government." Without violence, it secured the release of the hostages and, while the Gabonese Army

was restoring law and order, it organized the speedy repatriation of 1,800 foreigners. Seven hundred others who opted to stay back were grouped and placed under its protection for several days.

The town has since regained its atmosphere of a small holiday resort, though disfigured by ruined public buildings ransacked by the rioters. The legislative elections, the first round of which has been scheduled for Sunday [16 Sep], rekindled some measure of unrest.

The presence of a company of the Second Foreign Regiment, about 150 men, visibly provides reassurance for the European population. Families are expected to return after the elections or early next year, consular sources disclosed. According to some sources close to oil circles, which constitute the bulk of the expatriate population, such returns, which would boost economic recovery, would be conditioned on the presence of this "temporary detachment," to use the terms of the French minister of defense.

The Green Berets maintain a discreet presence. They have been quartered at the Technical High School, but are preparing to move out, due to the reopening of schools, to a camp near the airport which has been lent by the Gabonese gendarmerie. About two small vehicles are lined up at the gate of the camp, visibly ready to move and regroup the foreign population if the need arises.

Sentinels guard the French consulate, which was stoned during the riots. Night patrols are being organized in the residential areas because of some insecurity which, according to local sources, is due to the release of all common law prisoners during the riots. Several Europeans, including a French doctor, have been attacked in their homes.

One group is permanently on alert and ready to react at any time it is called upon, it was learned from French diplomatic sources. A permanent telephone number has been given to people living in remote areas to report any attack. Gabonese nationals show indifference when passing in front of the camp and have not set up the small scale trading that always accompanies troops in the countryside.

The French intervention, it is recalled, was entirely dissuasive and centered on providing security for Westerners, who do not believe that the legion will leave. Company executives are doing everything to please the soldiers, it was learned from various sources. Last week, a large barbecue party was organized to celebrate the regiment's traditional feast. "It is a question of love between the legion and Port-Gentil," said one officer.

## Zaire

### \* Tshisekedi Discusses UDPS, Mobutu, Democracy

90AF0629A Lubumbashi TAIFA in French  
10 Aug 90 pp 6, 10, 13

[Interview with Etienne Tshisekedi, president of UDPS (Union for Democracy and Social Progress) by special correspondents in Kinshasa Mwanza N'Kashama and Kayombo Mubela Mupanga: "It Was Moise Tshombe Who Pacified Zaire...Aided by Katangais Gendarmes"; at Limete; date not given]

[Text]

### [Box] Introduction

Caught in a monstrous traffic jam, we were in a rage that time should be so slow, one minute at a time, always at the same rate. Kin [Kinshasa], the beauty with a thousand jewels, unfolded the charm of an insatiable courtesan, millions of jewels glittering with each jolt of our wheezing jalopy. Sometimes, under the effect of some "refreshment" taken without measure or quality control, our driver would lose control, the engine of his machine reacting on its own when it was supposed to stop and turning temperamental when it was supposed to start again. A Kinshasa traffic circle is the worst place where to follow the slope and have the front of your car face oncoming traffic. Several times, in spite of fierce resistance, we forced ours to resume its trip and take us at all costs, although one-half hour late, to our meeting place: one of the principal leaders of the UDPS, Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba was waiting for us on the veranda of his residence, 289 Third Street, in the Limete area.

From the entrance portico, one of the guards took us straight to the back of the lot where a few other members of the UDPS family were waiting for their turn to meet with Mr. Tshisekedi. A sort of factotum announced our arrival. We were received immediately and reproached without meanness: "I was expecting you at 1900. When you came by, I did not know you were the TAIFA journalists." We mumbled a few incoherent excuses.

Why a meeting with Tshisekedi? The Zairian political landscape is moving, like a huge picture or an immense scene where characters are exchanging their roles. It is hard to believe that, hardly three months ago (since 24 April) the wind of democracy freed some consciences and caused the most silent to start cackling.

On the horizon, clouds are gathering in the form of small and ambitious political groups, ready to pour their excess bile or engage in some extravagant behavior to conquer power. Lubumbashi, the country's economic capital, has become a privileged stronghold of labor dissent and free dissemination of bold ideas in the form of pamphlets. A martyr city after the UNILU [University of Lubumbashi] campus massacre, it already counts

a few unsung heroes from the press and from the bar. Nobody would want to start again the sad experiment that lasted 25 years and was scrapped hardly three months ago. The massacre, which roused the indignation of the entire Republic and resulted in a rupture of relations between Zaire and foreign countries, remains the high point of the Zairians' realization of their abject condition, abject because entirely devoid of humanity. The present Zairian State, then, can use the forces organized and paid for by taxpayers to kill!

In Kinshasa, people are demanding that the transition government step down and questioning the political calendar set by Marshall Mobutu. Above all, they suggest the convening of a national conference that would arrive at a consensus on Zaire's effective transition to a pluralistic democracy. Meanwhile, the Lunda government is multiplying selective efforts in the social sector but remains quite firm as to the calendar recommended. On one side, people are speaking of sabotage; on the other side, people are encouraging one another and encouraging sabotage to the extent that it could only benefit the government's cause. There is much to discuss, and the soul of the Zairian opposition, Etienne Tshisekedi, dissected it with us during this important exclusive interview with your weekly newspaper. [End box]

[TAIFA] At the start, the UDPS was just a mere dissent expressed by a very small parliamentary group. Their dissent soon became a movement whose mind was shared, although timidly, throughout the country. What is surprising is that it took shape at a time when no such thing could be imagined in Zaire. Where did you get the courage, which at the time some thought was suicidal temerity, and others impudence.

[TSHISEKEDI] You must know, my dear friends, that in everything there are limits that you cannot afford to overstep: the threshold of acceptability! In its 25 years' reign, Mobutu's regime has committed all sorts of abuses. To such an extent that, exasperated, we felt in 1980 that we could not remain forever passive in the face of so many atrocities and crimes against our people. We then decided to go into action and launch the fight against the regime in power. Actually, as parliament members, we had become aware of our responsibilities in 1979-1980 and exercised, as we ought to, the prerogatives granted to us under the constitution of the time as far as control of the executive power was concerned, in particular through interpellations. While all the people had applauded and wished to see things change in that direction, to improve transparency, Mr Mobutu made a speech in Parliament on 4 February 1980, in which he prohibited interpellations without modifying the constitution accordingly. We felt that this was too much, to thus unilaterally end an initiative that met the people's aspirations and wishes. This is why we sent to Mr. Mobutu that well-known 52-page letter that marked the official launching of the opposition, and in which we informed the recipient that he had overstepped the bounds of the bearable. Today, the result is there: Mobutu is at bay and the merit of this victory belongs to

the people who, although silenced by repression, never stopped showing us their solidarity and giving us encouragements throughout our struggle.

[TAIFA] Three months ago, it would have been impossible for a group of Zairian journalists to meet with you to discuss our country's politics without being accused of one thing or the other. Since 24 April, we have witnessed a blossoming of political parties. Observers see two dangers in this abundance: first, there is reason to fear memorable confrontations, first oratory and then physical, during which political debates may turn into bloody fratricidal fights; second, this represents a scattering of political forces, the majority of which would constitute a greater force, which is indispensable if we are to put an end to the iniquity of the regime that you challenge.

[TSHISEKEDI] The first point of your question refers to the campaign of lies organized by Mr. Mobutu's dictatorial regime, saying that the troubles and disorders of the early sixties were essentially due to multiparty democracy. The UDPS has already taken a stand in many occasions to show that what we had to deplore between 1960 and 1965 was not the result of multiparty democracy, but the result of the personal political ambitions of the big shots, those whom we called "the Binza group," who claimed to be "peacemakers" and wanted at all costs to take the place of Lumumba whose elimination they had arranged for. The brief history of our independence, as all intellectuals know, tells us that the disorders of the years 1960-1965 were in no way the result of a multiparty system. The proof is that, when Moise Tshombe had pacified the entire Congo at the end of 1964 (I wish to emphasize that it was Tshombe, aided by Katangais gendarmes, who pacified the country at the end of 1964) [he] organized multiparty elections, and democratic legislative elections early in 1965, when I was elected deputy for the first time. Then, after the parliament was installed, a transition government was to be formed and submitted to parliament's approval in March 1966, before the presidential elections of that year that were to decide between the candidates: Moise Tshombe and Joseph Kasa-Vubu. In a democratic manner!

It was then that the man who now calls himself "unifier and peacemaker" intervened with a coup, as we all know, and interrupted the democratic process that was the result of the people's unhappy experience in the years 1960 to 1965. This shows that, contrary to Mobutu's assertions, the failure experienced after independence was not due to multiparty democracy. Quite to the contrary, the multiparty system and the respect of democratic rules would have made it possible to put the country back on the right track, after a fumbled start, if the famous Military High Command had not interrupted the democratic process.

As for the second point of your question, I would like to point out that the UDPS is a party that has fought for the effective institution of democracy in our country. Democracy means liberties. Among these liberties, we



should give pride of place to freedom of speech and the right of association... To restrict the number of political parties is precisely to strike a blow at the right of association. So that, quite to the contrary, the UDPS rejoices at the creation of several parties in our country and trusts in the maturity of the people, the only judge, who will certainly know where its interest lies in this blossoming of political parties.

Nevertheless, we wish to draw your attention to the fact that, for the time being, most of these parties, the abundance of which frightens you, are only the managing committees of parties, which exist only on paper. And you will see that, at election time, the reality will be quite the opposite of what you seem to fear.

[TAIFA] The UDPS's history goes back almost 10 years. Although it is a very young party, its history is indissociable from the history of its principal founders' last 10 years. Mr. President, what were the main chronological milestones?

[TSHISEKEDI] I must point out that the UDPS has existed as a political party since 15 February 1982. But the struggle started in December 1980, after we sent our open letter to the President of the Republic. At the time, there were 13 of us, elected representatives determined to do something, when we were deprived of our parliamentary mandates and then imprisoned during the entire year 1981. When we were released, in December 1981, we were joined by other nonparliamentary friends, such as Frederic Kibassa Maliba who had resigned his mandate at the MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution] Central Committee, Marcel Lihau and many others. It was then that we thought of creating a second political party, because we were convinced that there was no room within the MPR to defend the people's interests. The creation of the UDPS caused us to be arrested and sentenced to 15 years in jail. That was on 2 July 1981. We were released on 20 May 1982, and then arrested again on 18 November and relegated to our native villages with our wives and children. On 25 June 1982, we were released again. One year later, on 12 June 1986, we were caught again and once again returned to our native villages. That lasted until the famous Gbadolite agreements, on 27 June 1987. Taking advantage of the freedom recognized in these famous agreements, one of the UDPS founders, Mr. Birindwa Faustin, and myself went abroad to make public opinion, both in Europe and in America, aware of the tragic conditions in which our people lived under the dictatorial regime that you know. Back from this tour abroad, and feeling strong because of the freedom of speech and the right of association that had been agreed on in the Gbadolite agreements, I convened a rally on the Kasa-Vubu Bridge square on 17 January 1988. Then, Mr. Mobutu, violating as usual the agreements we had signed with him, had his police force attack me; they arrested many of our members, tortured them, and there were even three dead. I was imprisoned and then relegated, this time to Haut-Zaïre, until the end of 1988. I was hardly released when I was again manhandled while many of our members

were arrested and tortured, until 1 March 1989, when I was arbitrarily placed under house arrests at my residence, under the pretext that I was at the origin of the students demonstration of February 1989. This situation continued until 24 April 1990, when Mr. Mobutu, finally bowing to facts, returned to the people the power he had confiscated for 25 years.

[TAIFA] Marshall Mobutu's speech of 24 April 1990 actually confirmed the victory of the democratic ideal to which you personally and those who shared your struggle devoted much energy and even several years of lost freedom. Do you see yourself now as the coach or leader of a winning team or merely of the forecasters' favorite team, in view of the opinion poll published by another Kinshasa newspaper?

[TSHISEKEDI] Instead of looking selfishly at our party's past efforts, my first feeling is that the advent of a multiparty system announced by Mr. Mobutu on 24 April represents for our people as a whole a victory over the forces of repression. And rather than seeing myself as the leader of a winning team, as you said, I prefer to let our people appreciate the efforts that we thus made together with them.

[TAIFA] Assuming you win the elections, as the polls of that same other newspaper seem to indicate, could you tell us—if we may ask—in what government post you feel you would best serve the people for whom you made all these sacrifices?

[TSHISEKEDI] I believe that, like any other human being, my ambition is to serve my country at the highest level. As a good democrat, I must assume that all UDPS members who struggle along with me have similar ambitions. And since our party has always fought and will always fight for democratic values, it will be the UDPS congress's responsibility to decide, when the time comes, who will be the UDPS candidate in the presidential elections.

[TAIFA] The UDPS has said "No!" to the calendar set by the President of the Republic. At the risk of getting into a deadlock should the government oppose the convening of a national conference, wouldn't it be convenient to let them fall into their own trap, since the UDPS is sure to get a majority of the votes?

[TSHISEKEDI] In this respect, I would like to remind you of the position of our party since 24 April 1990. The people, consulted by Mr. Mobutu himself, withdrew their confidence in Mr. Mobutu and his party, the MPR. Mr. Mobutu understood that, and he resigned all his functions as head of state. As he said himself in his speech, the advent of the third Republic will be ensured by a transition government. It is therefore absurd that the same government, which was so heavily censured by the people and which put an end to the second Republic, should purport to dictate the conditions of the handing over/retaking of its powers to a transition government formed and headed by the forces that enjoy the people's confidence. Since Mr. Mobutu's legitimacy ended on 24

April, the Zairian people cannot feel bound by the calendar he set. I was happy to read this very day a press communique from Mr. Vundwabe te Pemako who, as everybody knows, used to be Mr. Mobutu's right arm, who also protests against the fact that decisions made by the government, which the people has disowned, should continue to rule the transition from the second to the third Republic. The UDPS, therefore, reasserts its determination to sabotage all initiatives that the illegitimate government may take.

[TAIFA] Some say that Mr. Tshisekedi is a mill that produces very finely ground political ideas that he has never been in a position to translate into actions. To illustrate this, they point to the place called Mupompa (Kasai-Oriental), which is cut off from the rest of the seat of the Kabeya-Kamwanga zone. This is where you come from. Despite all the high functions you have always held, you have never taken the slightest initiative in favor of its development.

[TSHISEKEDI] Now, more than ever, is the time to educate our people and to rid them of the ideas taught by Mobutism, that the burden of organizing the State is the responsibility of the country's political leaders. Actually, a minister or any other political official receives his salary for the services he provides to the Nation and to meet the basic needs of his private life. This is why any political official must make do with the remuneration granted to him by the people through Parliament. We inherited this concept from the Belgians, and it was followed by political officials from the first Republic until part way through the second Republic. For instance, in case you don't already know it, our respected first President of the Republic, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, died in March 1969 because he could not afford to be treated at the Antwerp Institute of Tropical Medicine, in Belgium, where he could have been cured. When you move away from this sound concept, you end up misappropriating funds, as you know was done to build the N'Sele estate or the town of Gbadolite, to mention only these two examples. To sum it up: a political official must make do with the salary granted to him by the nation, and the state for its part must fulfill its duty to develop the country; in particular, it must build the bridges, schools, medical facilities, etc., which you seem to blame me for not building in my native zone.

[TAIFA] You have held very high functions in the present government and it is blamed for many abuses and shady deals. If the government knowingly committed reprehensible actions, public opinion maintains, you too bear the responsibility for them.

[TSHISEKEDI] I have held high functions in my country; I believe I did it in the country's best interest. If I have made mistakes, I would like to be shown actual proof of them, instead of just being blamed for things for which I was not responsible. When I held these functions, I was in the service of my country, not of one man, whoever he may have been. For instance, the dictatorial regime, which I have fought in recent years, was not

dictatorial when I was in the government. I signed the N'Sele manifesto and the constitution of 24 June 1967 both of which instituted a bipartisan democracy, not the ghost party installed by Mr. Mobutu after 20 May 1970 and of which even children in their mothers' wombs were members.

[TAIFA] You surely have a message for our readers in Shaba, the two Kasai and Kinshasa. TAIFA would be most happy to relay such a message.

[TSHISEKEDI] I shall tell them what I have always said since 24 April 1990, namely that, after becoming aware of the disastrous situation in which he had placed our country, Mr. Mobutu finally realized that power comes from the people. And he felt obliged to return power to the people. Therefore, I am asking our people to treasure the power they have thus recovered, and in order to retain it they must get rid of their No. 1 enemy: fear! Trust me, the day the people get rid of fear, well, democracy will be complete and our country's prosperity assured! FEAR!

#### \* Government Teachers' Salaries Policy Criticized

90AF0642A Kinshasa ELIMA in French  
16-17 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[Article signed ELIMA: "Salaires: Has the Government Thought of the Teachers' Situation?"]

[Text] Civil servants and other employees in government departments will soon have been on strike for six weeks. They still demand a substantial salary increase. According to their latest demands, the entry level salary should not be less than 75,000 zaires.

Thus, despite many difficult negotiations, the government, which until now has maintained its decision not to grant more than the 100-percent increase it had announced with great fanfare, has still been unable to win over the strikers. The latter admit the country is facing serious economic difficulties but consider, and rightly so, that they have a right to live. And with a healthy dose of good will on the part of the government, certain colossal sums regularly devoted to not urgently needed outlays would be enough to help rehabilitate the government civil servant who has seemed condemned to live in poverty.

Nevertheless we would point out that since the civil servants rejected the government's last proposals, which reached 100 percent, that is, increasing a government employee's salary to a minimum of 25,000 zaires, the government has redoubled its efforts to end this strike, which has already lasted too long and that threatens to bring irreparable damage to the country.

In its effort to find the ways and means likely to solve the civil servant problems, has the government thought of the situation of the teachers? With only about three weeks until the beginning of the new school year, public opinion is raising this question.



There actually are 200,000 teachers who, after two months of vacation, will have to go back to school to dispense knowledge to millions of young Zairian boys and girls.

They say that to govern is to plan ahead. The government should also be thinking of the lot of the teachers at the same time it is trying to find a satisfactory solution to the civil servants' demands. These teachers trusted the government two months ago by agreeing to bring the school year 1989-90 to a close and postpone their demands until the new school year.

Clearly, the government should not wait until the teaching corps joins the ranks of the strikers after the new school year, and then seek a hasty solution to problems already presented to it two months ago.

In fact, public opinion will recall that in June the Minister of Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education received teacher delegates who came to submit their list

of demands to him. One month later he brought those delegates to the prime minister and they presented him with a synthesis of the same list of demands.

It is appropriate to point out that the complaints transmitted in this list concerned concrete proposals for raising teachers' salaries, improving the teaching career, and for restoring educational infrastructures, and children's learning conditions.

Considering the advanced state of dilapidation of the educational infrastructures in Zaire, it is obvious that all the complaints would constitute a vast program.

However, the teacher salary increases and improvement of their working conditions are urgent and can no longer be postponed. Before the beginning of the new school year, the government should already be seriously studying this. Teachers, too, have a right to life, respect, and dignity. And, indeed, they merit appreciation from each one of us.

## Djibouti

### \* Gulf Crisis Imperils Development Projects

90AF0657A Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Sep 90 p 4

[Article by Bertrand Le Gendre: "The Sorrows of Djibouti"; first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] The Gulf crisis does not suit the interests of the Republic of Djibouti, which, situated on the shores of the Red Sea, enjoyed Kuwait's generosity and Iraq's solicitude.

The Gulf crisis has destroyed the fragile equilibrium on which Djibouti based its relative prosperity—that is, relative when compared with the destitution of its Horn of Africa neighbors. Several development projects financed by Kuwait and Iraq were abandoned in this country, which is no larger than a little corner of France, which it was for a long time, while the increase in the price of petroleum threatens a recession. Once again the former territory of the Afars and the Issas suffers from its geographic location in the heart of a region torn by endless conflicts.

Djibouti was already bearing the burden of tens of thousands of refugees who fled from neighboring Ethiopia and Somalia in recent years. These foreigners, without documents, without resources, and without hope, represent almost nine percent of Djibouti's total population of 510,000 inhabitants. And now the Gulf crisis today calls into question the neighborly ties so patiently developed with the Arab countries, all Arab countries. (The population of Djibouti is almost wholly Muslim.)

Nevertheless, Djibouti would have preferred not to choose between its loyalty to France and its enterprising Iraqi friends. The aircraft carrier, *Clemenceau*, docked for some technical call, would have continued to innocently encounter the five coastal patrol boats recently donated by Baghdad. France, itself on good terms with Iraq, would be the last one to become alarmed over the advances that Mr. Saddam Husayn's regime had for some time been making to tiny Djibouti, as well as to other African countries (LE MONDE 25 August).

Unfortunately, the Gulf crisis has forced the latter to sacrifice its friendship with Iraq. Since then, Djibouti's official position is exactly "that of the United Nations," as explained by the prime minister, Mr. Barkat Gourat Hamadou, who was setting forth his country's position in the absence of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, on vacation in France. It would have been surprising if the position were very far from that of Djibouti's principal financial backers, which are, in order of importance, Paris, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

### "Jeopardized" Projects

Despite everything, Djibouti is concerned over appearing to be the principal base of operations of the French plan of action against Iraq. And worse yet, over

not having any choice in the matter. If the 4,000 French soldiers permanently stationed in Djibouti and their families (2,000 persons), would leave, and if the *Clemenceau* and its fourteen ships deployed by Paris in the Gulf gave up putting into the port, then the Djibouti economy would be lifeless.

For the time being, it is merely in danger of falling ill. Construction of a school for secondary studies and a vocational training center financed by Kuwait, has already been postponed until later on. More disquieting for the short term, extension of the port's "container" section, and modernization of the Djibouti airport have also been called into question.

Along with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait has undertaken to bear all or part of the cost of these projects. According to the Djibouti authorities, the Iraqi "invasion" has also "compromised" construction of 150 social housing units, as well as planting 55,000 date palm trees. Both projects had been promised by Baghdad. That is a great deal for a small country having scarcely no resources of its own, which imports all its energy, and that views with alarm the soaring price increases.

That means the Djibouti authorities are anxiously watching the Gulf crisis repercussions. Port activities, a real lifeline for the country's economy and on which the country had founded its slender hopes for development, have already suffered from the considerable damage caused to the region's navigation by the Iran-Iraq war.

The months to come are likely to be worse yet. Warships, and their men in high good humor—French, but also American and Italian—who have been putting in at Djibouti these days, were welcomed as benefactors. But they will never replace merchant ships, which Djibouti may hope to see again returning in great numbers if peace ever returns to the region some day.

## Kenya

### University Closed Following Police Clashes

EA1809173790 Nairobi THE STANDARD in English  
18 Sep 90 p 1

[By Patrick Wachira and Manohar Esipisu]

[Text] Egerton University [near Nakuru] was closed yesterday evening following hours of clashes between students and riot police. "The university is closed indefinitely. The 6,000 students are given up to 5 p.m. to leave the campus," a senior administration official told "The Standard".

Earlier, the students had been informed that they were to leave the precincts of the campus by the vice-chancellor, Professor Richard Musangi, but no talk of closure was mentioned. A student who talked to "The Standard" on telephone said that the security guards posted at the gate had instructions to make sure that no students entered

the campus. By yesterday evening, however, the university had been cleared with the students heading home.

Seven students, including one from Malawi, and a policeman were injured during the riots. Following the fracas and the closure of the university, all the students from Botswana, Malawi, Somalia, Ethiopia and other countries were stranded at the college as they had not immediate means of travelling home. The situation became worse as the students struggled to beat the 5 p.m. deadline of leaving the university. Several students had been treated at the university clinic for minor bruises and cuts by the time we went to press.

Hundreds of the rioting students at the university went on the rampage yesterday morning and destroyed property of unknown value before engaging riot police in running battles most of the day.

The students, who were protesting against the graded point aggregate (GPA) system, broke several windows in the office of Professor Musangi and the main college library before looting the senior common room canteen of beer and smashing bottles there. The vice-chancellor's secretary's office was littered with broken glass and several stones, while the great court was littered with green tree branches as well as unclaimed shoes. Police used tear-gas and fired several shots in the air to disperse the students who boycotted lectures the whole of yesterday saying the GPA system of grading of their academic performance was discriminatory.

When "The Standard" arrived at the university moments before 11 a.m., a security guard at the gate said it was unsafe to drive into the university, adding: "The situation is very bad here," but after identification, he opened the gates. Lecturers and other staff stood in groups amid the debris of missiles and tree branches while the Nakuru police chief shouted orders to scores of policemen in full riot gear near the Kilimo Hali. Contacted at 11.35 a.m., Professor Musangi was said to be in a meeting with security officers, but he emerged a few minutes later and told pressmen he would issue a statement after a full senate meeting, which he was then going to attend.

Students interviewed said they had marched to Professor Musangi's office to protest against the GPA system, but the vice-chancellor allegedly declined to give them an audience, prompting the fracas. "The Standard" learnt that the riots were started by second-year students, but many of those interviewed a few kilometres from the university compound said they were third-years and were not happy with the system of examination. They said the system was used only at the college and was unfair since one could not graduate without obtaining an average of 'C' (50 per cent), in any given paper.

When reporters contacted the vice-chancellor at 2 p.m., he was reported to be in yet another meeting (the third since 11 a.m.). The reporters had to wait until 3 p.m. before they left. Professor Musangi later sent somebody to tell the reporters that the meeting had not ended, but

by the time "The Standard" team left at 4 p.m., he was still not available for comment.

Earlier, police in full riot gear had chased the students across Njoro River on the western fringes of the university. A senior police officer, when asked by the press who had set the grass there on fire, retorted: "You think the police did that?" There was tension as a few students, mostly first- and third-years, hid in their dining hall as gunshots rang out across the river. At a construction site near the administration block, the students ripped off sections of the metal sheet fencing, according to an eyewitness. Employees were busy collecting the debris at the great court, while others cleared the broken glass and missiles lying on the desks in the administration block.

## Somalia

### President Siad Barre Approves Reshuffled Cabinet

AB1809222590 Mogadishu Domestic Service  
in Somali 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] president, Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, has approved the reshuffled cabinet from the prime minister, Mohamed Hawadle Madar, as follows:

1. Comrade Omar Mohamed Abdurahman, known as Omar Dere	Minister of Information and National Guidance.
2. Comrade (Khalif Abdullahe Shuko)	Deputy Minister of Information.
3. Comrade Dahir Farah Afey	Minister for Tourism.
4. Comrade Hassan Mohamed Osman (?Jumbo)	Deputy Minister of Tourism.
5. Comrade Mohamed Jibril Musa	Minister of State.

The statement adds that the SDR president, Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, has made new appointments of top civil servants in Benadir region, the Somali Security Service, and the Central Bank of Somalia as follows: 1. Comrade Ahmad Jilao, the new mayor of Mogadishu. He has also been promoted to the rank of brigadier general. 2. Comrade Aden Jama Irde, commander of the Somali Security Service. He has been promoted to the rank of brigadier general. 3. Brigadier General (Ali Hussein Dinle), a former member [as heard] of the Somali Security Service, has been transferred back to the Somali Defense Forces.

The statement further adds that Mohamed Hussein Sharif has been appointed acting chairman of the Somali Central Bank. Comrade Omar Ahmed Omar, former chairman of the bank, has been retired.

## Uganda

### \* Kampala Stock Exchange Launch Delayed

90AF0672A London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English  
3 Aug 90 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Excerpt] Kampala—Logistical problems continue to hold up the official inauguration of the proposed Kampala Stock Exchange (KSE). Scheduled for January this year, the launch has now been postponed to towards the end of the year. It is hoped that by then the necessary facilities will have been put in place. The 12-man committee charged with getting the KSE off the ground says it needs office furniture, a computer and stationery—but lacks the funds to purchase these.

Cynics here see the delay as 'proof' of their well-worn argument that a stock exchange in Uganda can never work. The country has a three-digit inflation rate, and business organisations are loth to keep proper books of accounts. However, the fact that President Yoweri Museveni recently called for a speedy launch of the stock exchange is indicative of the government's eagerness to make it succeed. According to the government, the KSE might be just what the country needs to mobilise funds for economic growth. Furthermore, the KSE is also seen as an instrument by which some of Uganda's parastatals could be privatised. [passage omitted]

### \* Drive for Private Coffee Sales Falters

90AF0672B London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English  
3 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] Kampala—Despite three years of attempts to diversify its agricultural production, aided by 34 partly foreign-funded projects, Uganda remains just as heavily reliant as ever on the coffee crop. According to the latest official figures, coffee still accounts for 95 percent of total export earnings.

Last year, at 186,860 tonnes, coffee exports were the highest for 14 years and netted the country \$301m. But the drive, encouraged by the World Bank, to export still more coffee this year by allowing private sales by four co-operatives, has apparently faltered. The four have formed the Uganda Co-operative Alliance (UCA) which has managed to mobilise almost US\$1bn [Ugandan shillings] for crop finance. However, one of four, the Busoga Growers Co-operative Union, has now collapsed with debts of US\$200m.

The bank handling the bulk of co-op funds is also in trouble. It has been unable to account for US\$1bn for the year ended 31 December 1989. The discrepancy in the figures was discovered when external auditors checked the books.

However, there has been minor success in improving the output of tea and tobacco and, with peace returning now to the north of Uganda, cotton production is expected to increase this year. Current priorities for the government are tea, cotton, tobacco and horticultural products.

Official figures also reveal substantial increases in the acreage and production levels for maize, plantains, rice, beans, pigeon peas, cassava, potatoes, groundnuts, sesame and soya beans. But most farmers remain outside the monetary economy, a legacy of the years of unrest. Marketing and management remain stumbling blocks in a country where agriculture makes up 70 percent of GDP and where small-scale farming involves some 80 percent of the population.

The proposed linking of agricultural production with processing industries is also still going ahead, albeit slowly. The sugar industry is now partially rehabilitated and a factory at Masaka producing soft drink from locally grown pineapples are the only major successes to date.

Plans are also under way for the enlargement and improvement of horticultural storage facilities at Entebbe airport. Libya plans to operate a regular cargo flight from Entebbe later this year.



**Vlok Says ANC, AWB Must Be 'Responsible'***MB1809202290 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 0430 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Excerpts] Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok says the ANC [African National Congress] no longer has any reason to intimidate people and to protest against apartheid. Addressing a political meeting at Virginia, Mr. Vlok referred to the ANC's recent actions, as well as ANC propaganda against the police:

[Begin video recording] [Vlok] The time has come for the ANC to act like a responsible political movement, and to stop being just another liberation movement. It has to start controlling its members—just as the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] has to control its members, sir. And I think the AWB has a big problem, if one looks at the group we have here tonight. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Mr. Vlok said yesterday's arrest of the right-wing fugitive Piet Rudolph shows that allegations that the police are unwilling to apprehend right-wingers are unfair and untrue. In an interview with the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], Mr. Vlok said police investigation teams followed the guideline that a crime is a crime, regardless of who committed it.

Mr. Rudolph, who has been sought for five months in connection with the theft of arms from Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria, was arrested early yesterday afternoon, together with a friend, in Wonderboom.

**Positive Reaction to Statement on Nuclear Treaty***MB1809180090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1600 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] South Africa's ambassador to Austria, Miss Cecilia Schmidt, says there has been a positive reaction to the statement by the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, that South Africa could accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT].

In an interview with the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], Miss Schmidt said Mr. Botha's statement had been circulated at the annual meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, and that it had been very positively received.

In his statement, Mr. Botha said South Africa's acceding to the treaty would depend on other southern African countries taking similar steps. Miss Schmidt said that last week Mozambique had indicated a desire to sign the treaty, and it appeared that other southern African countries were also considering doing so.

**Environment Minister Discusses Fishing Policy***MB1809113690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1121 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 18 SAPA—Environment Affairs Minister Gert Kotze on Tuesday [18 Sep] challenged Earthlife Africa or any other organisation to prove

claims that fishing vessels with pelagic gillnets have been legal in South African waters after July 31. He was reacting to an Earthlife Africa demand that the "present permit system should be scrapped."

Earthlife Africa was quoted in a report on Monday as saying "Mr Gert Kotze's undertaking earlier this year that no more permits would be issued after July 31 had... been altered. It is extremely concerning [as received] to discover that Gert Kotze has issued permits to Taiwanese vessels carrying gillnets to dock at Cape Town harbour till the end of the year."

An emphatic Mr Kotze replied on Tuesday that "any vessel with a gillnet or gillnetted fish on board after July 31 is not only illegal to be in any South African port but also illegal in the country's economic fishing zone which stretches up to 360km from the coast". He reiterated that no permits were issued to allow any vessel with a gill net or gillnetted fish in South Africa's fishing waters. "The use of gillnets in our fishing waters has been banned for many a year."

**Inkatha, ANC NEC To Meet 19 September***MB1809085990 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0700 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] An historic meeting is due to take place in Natal tomorrow on the violence issue. As Carmel Rickard reports, the ANC's [African National Congress] national executive will meet with Inkatha representatives:

[Rickard] It will be the first time that Inkatha has met with the NEC [National Executive Committee] of the African National Congress. The four members of the NEC with whom Inkatha will be meeting have been specially appointed to work on the Natal violence issue. They are Thabo Mbeki, John Nkadimeng, Patrick Shope, and Jacob Zuma.

Leader of the six-member Inkatha side Frank Mdlalose said there was an open agenda and that the two sides were expected to meet on talks, as he put it, as friends. He told me the question of peace would definitely be discussed. The talks will take place against the background of a continued public slanging match between the leaders of the two sides, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who so far have been unable to agree to meet for talks on peace in Natal.

**Winnie Mandela Allegedly Involved in Ambush***MB1809122790 Cape Town DIE BURGER  
in Afrikaans 14 Sep 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Winnie Phoned Him—Sisulu"]

[Text] Pretoria—The secrecy surrounding the telephone call on 11 September about a so-called Inkatha attack in Diepkloof that led to the death of a policeman in an ambush, intensified yesterday. African National Congress (ANC) internal leader Walter Sisulu announced it



was Mrs. Winnie Mandela who phoned him about someone else's emergency call.

It is not the first time Mrs. Mandela has been named in connection with a trap into which policemen have fallen. On 2 March 1987 policemen were shot at with automatic weapons when they responded to a complaint regarding a disturbance of the peace at her house.

Yesterday the police announced that Constable D.H. Liebenberg was killed in an ambush in Diepkloof and three other constables were injured when they reacted to a telephone call from Mr. Sisulu. The police were not able to trace the original complainant.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok expressed his sympathy for the relatives of Constable Liebenberg and other policemen, as well as with the residents of the black townships who have died in the violence.

In an interview with THE ARGUS yesterday, Mr. Sisulu announced it was Mrs. Mandela, the ANC head of social welfare, that called him. He also said he traced the person who had first called her.

In his interview Mr. Sisulu said: "On Tuesday, between ten and eleven o'clock, I received a telephone call from Mrs. Mandela who told me she received a call from Mrs. Miriam Vilikazi from Zone one in Diepkloof. She gave me that person's phone number. I then called General Swart. General Swart called me shortly before 7 o'clock the next morning and told me about the ambush. General Swart also said there was no Mrs. Vilikazi at the number I had given him the night before, and that it was a police number."

According to Mr. Sisulu he then called the number and reached Mrs. Vilikazi. General Swart was not available for comment last night.

**Attorney Advises Winnie Not To Issue Statement**  
*MB1809133290 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
1100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Winnie Mandela will not be making any statements on the charges facing her.

Her attorney, Ismail Ayob says he has advised Mrs. Mandela to remain silent until her court appearance on 21 September. The Attorney General of the Transvaal announced this morning that Winnie Mandela would face four charges of kidnapping and four of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm. The charges arise out of the death of 14 year old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei. Seipei's killer Jerry Richardson, who has been sentenced to death for the murder, was the leader of Mandela's erstwhile bodyguard, the Mandela United Football Club. The judge at Richardson's trial found that Winnie Mandela was present at the meeting which preceded Seipei's death.

There has still been no comment from the ANC [African National Congress] National Executive Committee

[NEC]. A meeting of the NEC, which was discussing the future of talks with the government, was interrupted to discuss the charges facing Mrs. Mandela. Western diplomatic sources say they believe the charges will hamper negotiations between the ANC and government.

**ANC Statement on 'Allegations'**

*MB1809150090 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1452 GMT 18 Sep 90

[SAPA PR Wire Service. Issued by: African National Congress. "Statement Issued by the Secretary General, Alfred Nzo, of the African National Congress on 18 September 1990"]

[Text] Great publicity has been given to the allegations made against Cde. Winnie Mandela and the incidents connected with investigations have been made a spectacle which was repeatedly aired on television and in the press. Certain sections of the media have lost no opportunity to create the impression that she is guilty.

While we do not seek any special treatment for Cde. Winnie Mandela we must protest this "trial through the media."

The matter is now in the hands of the courts, and as such it would be improper for the ANC [African National Congress] to make any comment on the pending judicial process.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC wishes to affirm its unequivocal support for our deputy-president and his family in this time of stress.

[Signed] Alfred Nzo

Issued by the Department of Information and Publicity

**Transkei Military Denies Troops Trained in Cuba**  
*MB1809155690 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1547 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Umtata Sept 18 SAPA—The acting commander of the Transkei Defence Force, Brigadier T.T. Matanzima, denied allegations that members of his force are trained in Cuba.

He told SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news that members of the Transkei force were receiving training abroad but not in Cuba.

Brig. Matanzima said Transkei has stopped sending their soldiers to South Africa for military training because they were taught in Afrikaans, a language they did not understand. He added that Transkei was not charged for the training abroad.

Brig. Matanzima said they would welcome offers for military training in any country including Cuba if training conditions suited them.

He denied allegations that Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing] had merged with the Transkei Defence Force.

**Vehicle-Mounted Light Machine Guns Not 'Unusual'***MB1809165690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1633 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 18 SAPA—The police will only use machine guns—which are to be mounted on Casspirs [armored vehicles]—in the event of being attacked by "terrorists" using AK-47 rifles or similar weapons.

In a statement, the commissioner of police, General Johan van der Merwe, said in response to the controversy surrounding the use of machine guns, that the decision was taken after several attacks on police vehicles with AK-47 rifles.

The mounting of light machine guns to Casspirs was decided on in terms of the latest measures aimed at quelling the violence in Rand townships.

"The AK-47 is a deadly automatic weapon and conventional arms are of little use in defence against them," he said. However the machine guns would not be used in unrest situations and strict instructions in this regard had been issued to members of the police force.

"The legal requirement that minimum force must be used, where the use of force is unavoidable, will be strictly complied with by the police."

Gen. Van der Merwe said machine guns were mounted on police vehicles in several western countries, including Northern Ireland and West Germany, in the struggle against "terrorists." It was therefore not an unusual step.

**Treurnicht Comments on Law, Order Situation***MB1909052390 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2121 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Ladysmith Sept 18 SAPA—The Johannesburg train murders and the attacks on the police indicated the government was no longer able to maintain law and order, Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Tuesday [18 Sep].

Speaking at a public meeting at Ladysmith in Natal on the recent violence, Dr Treurnicht said South Africa was degenerating into a state of anarchy. SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported he said the mass demonstrations that had been permitted created the impression of a movement that was succeeding in its aim.

Referring to allegations by the National Party MP for Klip River, Mr Jaco Maree, that through his statements about resistance he was ranging himself alongside Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Treurnicht said a distinction had to be made between Marxist and Calvinist resistance. He said any people had the right to resist a tyrannical government.

**AWB Leader on Government's Reform Efforts***MB1809054290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2117 GMT 17 Sep 90*

[By Ieteke Turkstra]

[Text] Pretoria Sept 17 SAPA—It was impossible to negotiate with the African National Congress [ANC] because they had nothing to offer, Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche said on Monday [17 Sep] night.

Addressing a public meeting in a packed Portuguese Hall in Pretoria, he said the ANC had nothing to offer, but wanted everything from South Africa.

"We don't want their culture or their language," he said. The ANC wanted to nationalise everything. "They want to confiscate the property of the white man and that is exactly what they are doing." ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela promised farms and goldmines to all the blacks and when this happened no one would invest in South Africa anymore.

Mr Terreblanche said State President F.W. de Klerk was willing to sit around the negotiation table with the ANC who did not want to suspend the armed struggle. "The government are communists and have done more for communists than Mandela did for the ANC."

He said he wished the government would make a case against him for calling them "communists. I would enjoy a court case like that."

Referring to the arrest of the deputy leader of the Boerestaat [Boer State] Party, Mr Piet "Skiet" [Trigger-Happy] Rudolph on Monday, Mr Terreblanche said Mr Rudolph was arrested because he wanted to be free. If ANC political prisoners were freed the same privileges applied to Mr Rudolph. He added it was unfair that Mr Rudolph was arrested while Mrs Winnie Mandela was still free. It was further unfair that some of those present at the meeting had lost their homes because they did not pay an electricity bill, but "Soweto's electricity account has been written off."

There was, according to Mr Terreblanche, no bigger advantage than to be a black. "The SAP [South African Police] must leave them (the blacks) if they want to kill each other," he added to a big applause from the crowd.

After the government had given everything else away, they now wanted to take the schools away from the children by opening them to all races as well. The country would not fall into the hands of the ANC, Mr Terreblanche stressed. The night the government handed the country over to the ANC, "we will take South Africa with force."

—On October 10 the AWB will hold a march in Vereeniging where the children will have a separate march to protest against the opening of the schools.

### ANC Criticized on Inaction To End Violence

MB1809193690 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1557 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Station commentary: "Peace Initiatives in South Africa"]

[Text] In the wake of some of the most callous and brutal incidents of black-on-black violence in South Africa, concerned leaders are now coming forward to act as peace makers. At two separate rallies last weekend, King Goodwill Zwelithini of kwaZulu, and President Ndamase of Transkei, appealed to all black South Africans to join hands, end the senseless killings, and bring about peace.

King Goodwill, the only king in South Africa, is the monarch of the Zulu nation, the largest in South Africa, and President Ndamase is the leader of another major nation, the Xhosas. It is Zulu - Xhosa confrontation that is the chief root cause of the barbaric violence of the past, and the peace call by the Zulu and Xhosa leaders is therefore a major peace initiative.

In another peace initiative, the Azanian People's Organization has called an emergency meeting for Wednesday to discuss an end to the violence. Invited to this peace meeting are many of the political parties in South Africa, including the African National Congress [ANC].

The ANC itself has been noticeably absent from the latest peace initiatives in South Africa. Its leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, has been severely criticized for first asking the South African Government to use its full might to end the violence, and then condemning steps by security forces to end the violence.

Typical of this criticism is that of the largest circulation newspaper in South Africa, the SUNDAY TIMES, which has described Mr. Mandela's attitude as inexplicable. The SUNDAY TIMES says, and we quote: The question is what has Mr. Mandela or his organization done to help cool the inflamed passions of our country? The answer is: precious little.

The ANC has also been criticized for demanding that the United States Government donate to it the full \$10 million at its disposal for distribution to black political parties in South Africa. The whole idea of this \$10 million was that it would be distributed to various parties in order to promote the democratic process. It has now being pointed out that by demanding all the money for itself, the ANC is demonstrating blatant contempt for the concept of multi-party democracy.

### Sources Say Government-ANC 'Honeymoon' Over

MB1809121190 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN  
in English 17 Sep 90 pp 1,2

[Article by Tony Stirling and SAPA]

[Text] The honeymoon between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] deputy president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, is over.

This was the view being expressed last night by top level sources who said this was the conclusion which could be drawn from the fact that General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, had delivered the sharpest yet attack on Mr. Mandela from the government side.

General Malan had the backing for the attack he made from his Cabinet colleagues, and it should be seen in this light, the sources said.

General Malan's attack, made at the inaugural congress of the Witwatersrand North Division of the National Party in Kempton Park on Saturday [15 Sep], came after an attack on Mr. Mandela by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen.

"Saturday's attack by General Malan was a clear signal from the government that the honeymoon is now over and that he must start producing the goods and stop making unsubstantiated statements that are proving unhelpful in the current circumstances," the sources said.

"The time has arrived for Mr. Mandela to put his money where his mouth is, as the saying goes."

In his attack, General Malan indicated that the utterances of Mr. Mandela made him believe that the ANC deputy president did not support peaceful negotiations for a new South Africa.

He also sharply criticised Mr. Mandela for failing to put up evidence on allegations he had been making about the police and the Defence Force.

State President De Klerk at Middelburg, Cape said that although it appeared that some or other force was playing a role in the violence in South Africa, it would be short-sighted to play down or ignore the causes of the violence.

He referred to remarks made on Friday by Mr. Nelson Mandela after their talks in Pretoria, saying a correction in this regard was necessary.

Mr. Mandela said at a news conference after the talks that Mr. De Klerk had admitted there was a "hidden hand" behind the violence.

Mr. De Klerk said the latest wave of murders of train passengers and attacks on people from minibuses suggested the existence of a sinister conspiracy by well-trained terrorists or gangs.

However, if there were no problems between the Xhosas and the Zulus, the King of the Zulus and the President of Transkei would not be holding peace talks.

President de Klerk said the fact that Inkatha, the ANC, and the UDF [United Democratic Front] were openly attacking each other, was further proof of problems between these groups.

He pointed out that the violence was no longer aimed at government forces, but was occurring mainly between rival groups of Black people.



It appeared that an unknown force belonging to one of the rival factions or a force from elsewhere was taking advantage of the situation.

He also criticised the ANC's propaganda, as he put it, in which the government was blamed for all the violence.

ANC leaders who said the present situation did not make it unnecessary to urge their followers to make peace should stop avoiding their responsibilities.

#### **Suspect Arrested in Attack on ANC Official**

*MB1809160890 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1549 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 18 SAPA—Police have arrested a man they suspect was involved in a recent assassination attempt on the life of a senior African National Congress [ANC] official.

The unidentified suspect was arrested following investigations into the gun and panga [knife] attack on Mr. Penuel Maduna, 38, in July in Soweto, police spokesman Major General Herman Stadler said in a statement.

Mr. Maduna is a member of the joint steering committee formed to deal with issues related to the tentative talks between the ANC and the government.

The four attackers followed Mr. Maduna's car as he drove to a hospital and launched the attack moments after he pulled out from a petrol station.

Appearing at a news conference a day later, Mr. Maduna claimed the attack had been orchestrated by police. Police denied involvement.

In another announcement, Gen. Stadler said officers investigating the attempted murder were hunting for three other suspects.

"These suspects are known robbers and they are also being sought in connection with other robbery cases," he said. "In the light of the above, it would not be asking too much for Mr. Maduna to publicly apologise for his unfounded attack on the police. Mr. Maduna had no concrete grounds on which to base his allegations of police involvement," he added.

#### **1,200 Xhosa, Zulu Miners Clash Near Dundee**

*MB1809200090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1944 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Pietermaritzburg Sept 18 SAPA—Up to 1,200 coalminers were still waiting to leave the Durnacol mine near Dundee on Tuesday [17 Sep] night after allegedly being threatened with violence by another faction.

According to ISCOR's [South African Iron and Steel Corporation] Public Relations Manager Pieter du Plessis a brief clash broke out between two factions late on

Monday which left two people injured. Police have been on the mine premises since Sunday monitoring the situation.

The clash broke out in spite of management separating the two groups and housing them in different hostels.

Although buses arrived at the mine on Tuesday morning to take the coalminers home the buses were stranded without drivers for some hours leading to speculation that the drivers were afraid. Mr. du Plessis said he was unable to confirm this.

In attempts to solve the crisis, representatives from the Transkei and Ciskei were brought in to talk to the miners but their recommendations were that the miners should be released from their jobs, said Mr. du Plessis.

A representative from the National Union of Mine-workers [NUM] was also brought in and negotiations were still in progress late on Tuesday, he said.

The tense situation allegedly developed between Xhosa and Zulu miners at the weekend following accusations by one group that a NUM shop steward was an African National Congress member and so unacceptable, said Mr. du Plessis.

On Sunday the miners, from the Transkei and Ciskei, asked mine management if they could be released from their jobs. This was agreed to after many hours of negotiation and attempts to solve the problem. Those minerworkers who wanted to leave the mine would be paid out the money that was owed to them, said Mr. du Plessis. Although the situation had improved on Tuesday production was not back to normal, he added.

#### **Police Offer Reward in Denver Station Shooting**

*MB1809162890 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1605 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 18 SAPA—The police are offering a reward of R[and]50,000 for information leading to the arrest of anyone involved in the Denver train massacre last week in which 26 people died and more than 100 were injured.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said in a statement on Tuesday [18 Sep] the police were doing everything in their power to apprehend those guilty of the murders.

He said the police had so far found no proof of reports of a third party involved in the violence. Reports of whites' involvement in the massacre of blacks could also not be substantiated, he said.

"Despite the fact that people injured in the violence were questioned by police and repeated requests have been made for people in possession of such evidence to come forward, no proof of these allegations has so far been found," he said.

He appealed to anyone with information to contact Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen at (012) 320-1551 at work or (012) 646-8112 at home. He also appealed to community leaders and all South Africans to heed the call by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Transkei President Tutor Ndamase to end the violence.

#### **Poll Shows ANC Gaining; Buthelezi Drops**

*MB1809182690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1713 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 18 SAPA—Black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the past few months, in the wake of blood spilt in battles with the rival African National Congress [ANC], according to a recent study.

The nationwide poll conducted by Intergrated Marketing Research [IMR] last month also showed many blacks regarded the ANC as most representative of their lot. ANC Deputy President Mr. Nelson Mandela led among the politicians making positive contributions to a future South Africa. President F.W. de Klerk came second.

The poll among 2,100 "economically active" blacks showed that 51 percent believed Inkatha "was making a negative contribution to the future of South Africa." In a similar study in April, [words indistinct] critical of the Zulu-based political party, IMR said on Tuesday.

The performance by Inkatha only rivalled the extreme conservative movement AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], which polled 52 percent. This reflected an eight percent drop in negative attitudes against the AWB in April.

In sharp contrast, the ANC received the approval of most of the canvassed blacks. Sixty-six percent were of the opinion the organisation was making a positive contribution to a peaceful future. However, the ANC's performance fell by 18 percent from its April high of 84 percent.

In other major findings, the survey showed that 34 percent of blacks believed Mr. Nelson Mandela was making a positive contribution to the future South Africa.

Only one percent thought so of Chief Buthelezi and his party.

Twenty percent held a similar view of President de Klerk and 12 percent for the National Party.

Seventy percent said the ANC was representative of black opinion today, a sharp rise from 20 percent in a study conducted in January.

The rating for Mr. Mandela rose from 13 percent in January to 44 percent.

"Black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha," IMR concluded.

More than 700 people have been killed in fighting between ANC and Inkatha supporters since August 12.

Five percent thought Chief Buthelezi was representative of black opinion and four percent thought so of Inkatha.

Eleven percent regarded the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] as a positive force but 20 percent believed it was representative of black opinion. In the January poll, five percent thought the PAC representative.

In other findings, 37 percent of blacks held a negative opinion of the Conservative Party.

The South African Communist Party was regarded by five percent of blacks as a positive force.

Also featured in the study were the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the South African Council of Churches. The Azanian Peoples' Organisation was not included and no explanation was offered for its exclusion.

#### **18 Sep Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**

*MB1809120190*

[Editorial report]

#### **THE CITIZEN**

Tough Measures in Townships Welcome—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 17 September in its page 6 editorial welcomes the "iron fist" measures the government is taking to deal with the violence in black townships. If the new measures do not "end or dampen the violence," "even tougher measures should be taken." "For the government has to show that it is in control and that it has the power to determine the direction the country is to take, or South Africa will suffer increasing violence and destabilisation."

'Uneasiness' About Police 'Iron Fist' Operation—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 September in a page 16 editorial expresses "a deep sense of uneasiness about Operation Iron Fist." "It has been introduced without apparent reference to (let alone the support of) black leaders"; "it puts even more ferocious weapons into the hands of a security force under a cloud"; and "the announcement of the get-tough campaign was accompanied by a political taunt that came ill from a supposedly neutral police force." "If Nelson Mandela wants an iron fist," said Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner, "he will get an iron fist." Such a remark from an exasperated politician might be understandable. Mr. Mandela dismays many these days by his ducking and diving. He has lost the surefootedness that marked the early days of his release. His apparent contradiction over what he wants the Government to do about township violence invites mockery. But it is not the job of an impartial police force to mock. Its job is to win the confidence of all sides. General Erasmus jeopardises co-operation by his ill-considered gibe."



**AZAPO Rejects Talks**—A second editorial on the same page notes the Azanian People's Organization's rejection of the government's invitation to talks, saying "holding out for more concessions is an understandable strategy" but "there are huge risks." "For those who think the Government can be overthrown rather than persuaded out of power, the road ahead is dark. Mozambique and Lebanon provide ample warning signs to read."

#### SOWETAN

**'Boldness' of Zulu, Xhosa Rally**—"The recent peace rallies were a bold and imaginative act by the Zulu and Xhosa leaders," says a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 18 September. "The boldness of the rallies was that they were held in the eye of the storm and could have resulted in unimaginable disaster. The gamble thankfully paid off." Although the two leaders will not stop the violence "they are important as symbolic signals for peace."

#### CITY PRESS

**Killings by 'Hired Assassins'**—Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 16 September in a page 10 editorial says the "train massacre" at Denver station near Johannesburg "is the work of killers hired to create mayhem and confusion in the country." "This sort of violence is no longer ideological warfare between different political groups. It is no longer a tribal conflict nor is it simply between hostel dwellers and residents. It is the work of well-trained, hired assassins. We must stop them now."

**Township Solution Rests With Blacks, Not Army**—"While we welcome the deployment of security forces in our townships, we doubt whether they will do a proper job," states a second editorial on the same page. "We hope senior personnel will police their own men. We also believe that while this is a short-term measure to curb violence, the long-term solution has to come from us black people. We have to educate our people about the fundamental principles of democracy. Without these, we might as well forget about our liberation."

#### RAPPORT

**Can Black Leaders Rise Above Violence Option?**—"The 'unrest and violence that has been unleashed in the black townships cannot be justified by anyone," declares Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 16 September in its page 22 editorial. "It is clear the spiral of violence has to be broken at any cost. A show of state authority will clearly be needed for this, although a lengthy security force presence will do more harm than good. The only lasting solution will have to be a political one. But do we have black leaders who can rise above the violence option to effectuate this?"

#### TRANSVALER

**RSA Not Ungovernable**—"Although in places it seems as if the situation is uncontrollable, the country is in no

way ungovernable," declares Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 14 September in a page 8 editorial. "To establish democracy is a messy and difficult task and that alone should not be an obstruction. progress has definitely been made since 2 February." "The mythical Mr. Mandela has been brought to earth. Foreign doors have opened for South Africa and the country is on the path to take its rightful place." "If the violence in the country can be controlled, international economic participation awaits."

#### DIE BURGER

**ANC Adjusts Message to Audience**—"When ANC spokesmen, among them deputy leader Nelson Mandela, say something these days, it is difficult to determine whether they want to be part of the solution or want to remain part of the problem," says Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 13 September in a page 12 editorial. "The most probable explanation is that it is symptomatic of an old ailment in their politics: to adjust their message to the needs of their audience." However, things have become "too serious" to "tell people only that which they wish to hear."

#### BEELD

**Future Economic Systems**—"In the debates about future economic systems those who are ANC-oriented frequently insinuate that the processes of deregulation, commercialization, and privatization of public corporations is political craftiness," says Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 14 September in a page 8 editorial. "If the previous system worked well for years, the new plans can only be regarded as an attempt to keep the whites in the new South Africa in power, they say." "South Africa is guilty of forms of socialism, but to accuse the government of political opportunism while it is merely doing what every other thinking country is doing these days will help no one."

**Security Forces Alone Cannot Ensure Peace**—"It is asking too much that the security forces should solely be responsible for ending the type of terrorism that has taken place in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD on 17 September. Also, "the ANC alone cannot ensure peace, as Mr. Mandela's past attempts have shown." His calls on the "undisciplined and violent black youth" have not helped. "As in all conflicts the leaders will have to lead their followers and seek a solution through negotiations." BEELD calls on Mandela to meet with Inkatha Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "The longer he delays, the greater a political problem it will become to speak with Buthelezi."

\* **Norwegians Claim Shipping of Oil Products Legal**  
90P40143A Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian  
16 Sep 90 p 6

[Text] Norwegian shipping firms are taking advantage of the holes in the Norwegian boycott law concerning South

Africa. Oil products are regularly being transported on Norwegian ships to the apartheid nation. The shipping firms point out that they are complying with the law.

It is stated in a report prepared by the Shipping Research Bureau in Amsterdam, which was presented yesterday in Oslo, that Norwegian shipping firms play a central role in transporting oil products to South Africa.

The joint council for southern Africa strongly regrets this development. Norwegian shipping firms are contributing to the weakening of the international isolation of South Africa, says the leader of the council's boycott committee, Gunnar Holm.

"We have examples where Norwegian companies have transported oil products from countries like Sweden and the Soviet Union, which have total boycotts against South Africa."

Even if Norwegian shipping firms have not delivered crude oil to South Africa since 20 July 1987, the country has been steadily more strongly represented in the supplying of oil products. On 16 August of this year the Hoegh Favour, belonging to Leif Hoegh & Co., sailed

from Amsterdam for Gibraltar with 57,000 tons of gasoline on board. During the trip the ship put into port in South Africa.

"In 1989 we had five shipments of oil products to South Africa while so far this year we have had two, of which the Hoegh Favour was one," explains director Ragnar Belck-Olsen of the Leif Hoegh & Co. shipping firm.

"We are upholding the law, which limits transport of crude oil only. It is normal to set course for Gibraltar. The employer decides on the place where the cargo will be unloaded, and information concerning this is often received while the ship is under way," says Belck-Olsen.

Bulkhandling A/S is also named in the report. The company's director, Svein Johnsen, affirms that the company has carried out some shipping to South Africa. "But it is only refined products. We conduct business within the constraints imposed by the politicians and laws," says Johnsen.

Gunnar Skaug (Labor Party), a member of the Storting's Foreign Affairs Committee, who was present when the report was presented, says that there is a need for reappraisal of the boycott law.

**\* Problems Facing Negotiations Process Discussed****\* ANC Alternatives**

90AF0671A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 17-23 Aug 90 pp 6-7

[First paragraph is NEW NATION introduction]

[Text] Although far-reaching agreements have been reached in the course of talks during this time, neither the ANC [African National Congress] nor the government has done enough to explain how this increasingly complicated scenario which is unfolding will translate into a democratic South Africa. NEW NATION takes a look at some of the problems.

Having suspended the armed struggle, the ANC has entered its most testing period yet in the run-up to a people's government.

Crucial questions relating to the processes leading up to the election of a non-racial democratic government on the basis of a common voters' role will have to be answered.

And in the process an intense struggle between two interest blocs will develop around the negotiating table to ensure that their respective positions prevail.

Vital, from the ANC's point of view, will be the need to take its constituency along in the processes that follow and, perhaps more challenging, to draw other constituencies into the democratic camp.

This will also necessitate that the ANC is not weak at the centre and this will demand intense organisational work at all levels and in all sectors of the democratic movement.

A clear understanding of the processes currently underway remain central if the ANC is not to lose its constituency along the way.

While details of the intervening stages along the path to the election of a new government remain unclear, a reading of the Pretoria Minute suggests that negotiations on constitutional matters is a logical next step.

It is envisaged this process will culminate in a constitution-making mechanism being put in place, which will give content to a new constitution and govern the election of a new, democratic non-racial authority.

The obvious question that arises at this stage is who governs the country between now and when a non-racial government is elected. Another equally important question relates to who decides what form the constitution-making body takes.

The ANC's position on both these questions is clear. It is on record as saying that the National Party can no longer be the sole governing party—it cannot be a player and a

referee during this transitional period. A neutral interim government is therefore suggested.

And if the Pretoria Minute is any indication, it is clear that the National Party has accepted this reality that, while it is in government, it no longer rules the country alone.

But there is as yet no readymade mechanism that will bring the interim government into being. One of the processes that could give it form is consultation with various political groups that both the government and the ANC will enter into.

An intense contest for support is likely to ensue during this process of consultation and will no doubt prove decisive in shaping the interim government and the constitution-making structure.

How either of these structures will gain concrete form remains a grey area.

There is nevertheless some clarity on one of the immediate functions of the interim government—that is that will be required to oversee the implementation of whatever agreement is reached on the nature of the constituent assembly, the voting process, etc.

Parts of the Pretoria Minute suggest that elements of an interim government could soon be in place.

With reference to violence sweeping the country, the ANC and the government agreed that they will both take steps towards ensuring that the content of the Pretoria Minute will be observed in all parts of the country.

Regional monitoring groups have already been appointed by the government and the ANC is in the process of doing the same.

It is envisaged that, through the monitoring groups, the violence which the ANC has repeatedly blamed on state structures, and in particular the police, will be addressed.

While these groups have not started functioning yet, the signing of the peace accord between the police, the community and Inkatha in Kagiso last week provides some insight into how the security of townships could be controlled with the involvement of both democratic and state structures.

While this is seen as one example of an interim governing authority gaining concrete expression at a local level, similar co-operation in the field of education, health and the economy could also emerge at regional and national levels.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, the government has agreed that "with due cognizance of the interest, role and involvement of other parties, that whatever additional mechanisms of communication are needed should be developed at local, regional and national levels."

At one level this clause is seen as the key to the unfolding of a joint administration—it will determine how the



contesting forces interact on key issues, for example housing, health and even the budget.

But just how effectively the ANC will be able to further its own interests during the transitional period through joint governing structures will in large part depend on its organised strength and preparedness on the ground.

Without adequate monitoring, structures in the townships, for example, it will be ineffective in containing state-sponsored violence and determining policy on security matters.

Weak and ineffective participation in the joint administration of the country also presents the real danger of co-option.

For the ANC, the challenge therefore is: how does it intervene in actually determining policy without being co-opted?

The capacity for co-option is less where effective structures and positions on key policy issues are in place.

And this prompts another question—and that is whether the ANC and the democratic movement in general has prepared itself to move from protest to the actual transformation of government.

One of the most crucial tasks ahead for the ANC, therefore, is to develop alternative programmes in line with its broad objectives for the transitional period.

At the level of black education, for example, where schooling has collapsed, a programme to rescue the situation is urgent. It is not inconceivable for the ANC's demand for a single education system to be implemented as an alternative in the cause of this transitional period.

One other area in which joint administration of the country could be given concrete form is in the implementation of a single non-racial health care system.

Intervention to ensure that the Cosatu-Nactu-Saccola [Congress of South African Trade Unions-National Council of Trade Unions-South African Consultative Committee on Labor Affairs] proposals on the Labour Relations Act (LRA) are implemented is another area where the concept of an interim government could find concrete expression.

Discussion of its constitutional guidelines and various charters, including the workers' health, youth, women's and educational charters, should therefore of necessity be intensified.

This will also ensure the continued participation of the democratic constituency in directing policy development and participating in formulating a future constitutional model. And there is a historical precedent for this.

It was through a similar process of discussion at a mass level that demands were formulated and representatives were elected to the Congress of the People in Kliptown more than 35 years ago to draw up the Freedom Charter.

At the same time, there is also the need to begin debating what form the constitution-making structure should take.

From the ANC's point of view, whatever structure is agreed upon; it must be elected within the framework of one-person-one-vote on a non-racial voters' role. These principles are non-negotiable from the ANC's point of view.

The ANC argues that this is the only way in which the support on the basis of which various groups claim representation can be verified.

Whether a constituent-making structure will be assembled on the basis of proportional representation or solely by the majority bloc remains an open question, one that must be urgently answered.

While the ANC will certainly formulate its own position on this question, the decision on what form the constituent assembly will take cannot be decided solely by the National Party and the ANC. Other political formations will have to be consulted.

But, in the final analysis, only two groups can be distinguished—the body of political opinion which advocates a non-racial democracy and a bloc that argues for the existence of distinct groups.

And these are the two forces, assembled on either side of the negotiating table, that will have to reach consensus on key constitutional questions. How they will be assembled and who will be accorded the right to negotiate is a question the ANC will have to answer.

Some of the most important functions of the interim government will be closely related to the constituent assembly.

It will have to, for example, supervise whatever processes are agreed upon on relating to assembling the constitution-making body. It will also have to oversee the implementation of the election of a new government within the framework of a new constitution.

A logical culmination of these processes must be a constitution premised on the central principles of democratic non-racialism.

A government elected on the basis of these principles will mark the end of the current transitional period.

#### \* Government's Dilemma

90AF0671B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 17-23 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] The government of F. W. De Klerk is rapidly losing the high ground it briefly established through the sweeping reforms of February 2—now it is having to contend with the reality that the process it started so boldly may soon lead to its demise.

In many ways, it is caught between the anvil and the hammer, and the centrist position it is attempting to carve for itself and its Bantustan satellites could collapse overnight.

The battle for constituencies has begun in earnest and for the Nationalists it is not an entirely encouraging prospect. For one, because of the very uncertain processes and outcomes of the next couple of months, the government is finding that it has to be judged on its past rather than its present.

In many ways its political position has been outflanked by the ANC [African National Congress] on the one hand and the Conservative Party (CP) on the other, and these are the formations that stand to benefit most from the political process that has now begun.

In an interview with NEW NATION this week, minister of development aid Stoffel van der Merwe said the government would seek a consensus that would see all parties "with a support base" sitting at the negotiating table.

No criteria had at this stage been set on who would ultimately sit at the negotiations.

The government, he said, was not averse to the idea of a constituent assembly or of a negotiating forum that would make the new constitution. However, to demand an elected constituent assembly on a common voters' roll was not acceptable because this would have the effect of imposing new procedures even before the drawing up of the constitution.

In fact what needs to happen is for a constitution to be drawn up and then for some form of elections to take place under the new constitution.

The question of an elected constituent assembly or negotiating forum is central to the government's dilemma for the following reasons:

—If an open non-racial election was held for such an assembly, amongst whites, the government would most certainly lose the election to the CP. The CP would then emerge as the party of white South Africa. The CP currently enjoys more support amongst whites than the Nationalists.

—Although the Nationalist government would still be in place until democratic elections are held under a new constitution, the National Party would have had no hand in the drawing up of the constitution. More than that, it would most certainly be the end of the National Party as we have known it.

—The homeland governments, which have lost credibility already, would also be soundly defeated in such an election and the alliance around the National Party would be at an end.

—For many of the homeland governments seeking to redeem their past, gravitating towards the ANC alliance would be more strategic—and the more reason to dump De Klerk.

These are the fears that currently haunt the government and that will most probably inform the government's strategies in the negotiations process. For the government as well as the ANC, both partners in negotiations recognise the importance of moving along with their respective constituencies.

It is ironic that while the government puts emphasis on consensus in the formulation of the constitution, it is not the democratic type of consensus that the ANC is calling for but rather the type of consensus that will enable the government to continue its dominance within its own alliance with homeland leaders as well as being the major actor in South African political life.

However, even in this regard the government can no longer take the support of the Bantustans for granted, as some of these leaders are sympathetic to the ANC and are rapidly moving towards an alliance.

Next week's meeting between the ANC and homeland leaders is expected to result in a more concrete relationship emerging between the ANC and these leaders.

The homeland leaders that the government has already lost include Kangwane's Enos Mabuza, KwaNdebele's James Mahlangu, Lebowa's Nelson Ramokadi and the military heads of Ciskei and Transkei.

KP Mopeli of QwaQwa and Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi seem to be undecided, but are likely to be pushed into an ANC alliance in order to retain some semblance of support within their own areas.

At this stage it is more than likely that some common position will emerge between Allan Hendrikse, Gatsha Buthelezi and De Klerk.

In the interview this week, Van der Merwe said although the government had its own vision on how the negotiating process should unfold, it would opt for a consensus solution.

"Whether the constitution-making body is the constituent assembly or a negotiating forum, are issues that we will now have to discuss. We need to decide who will be represented and for what reason.

"The government will be involved in bi-lateral and multi-lateral talks on an ad-hoc basis," he said.

Asked about the government's preference for particular constitution-making models, Van der Merwe responded: "In principle we prefer a combination of two models—of a broad consensus forum employing the services of constitutional experts."



On the demand for an elected constituent assembly, Van der Merwe said: "On what basis could such elections be held? They would prejudice the outcome of the constitution."

The government seems to believe that instead of an election, a constitution should be drafted and put to the people through a referendum. Whatever the outcome of the referendum, the National Party would be affected by the outcome only as one of a series of partners.

**\* Inkatha Chairperson Discusses Violence**

90AF0670A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 17-23 Aug 90 p 5

[Interview with Inkatha Youth Brigade Chairperson Themba Khoza: "Inkatha Talks on Violence"]

[Text] The 1976 riots played a major role in influencing the formation of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in 1978. During that period there was a lack of a sufficient youth structure to give direction and discipline during the struggle for liberation.

The Brigade totally adheres to the policies of Inkatha and acts as a vanguard within the liberation movement while working towards upholding its mass character.

NEW NATION interviewed Inkatha Youth Brigade chairperson Themba Khoza, who gave an outline of the present political developments between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] as well as the conflict amongst different organisations.

[NEW NATION] What is the attitude of Inkatha and its youth section towards the negotiation process which has already begun between the government and the ANC?

[Inkatha] We view the process of negotiations as a positive development and we are very grateful that at last the government and the ANC have seen the importance of peaceful negotiations.

This is a victory for Inkatha who have tirelessly called on the government to negotiate with the ANC and also to remove obstacles such as the unbanning and the release of political prisoners.

Inkatha stood for negotiations during the hard times of the Vorster and Botha eras without flinching from its just stance.

We openly told the government when it wanted to coerce Inkatha into "constitutional assemblies" that Inkatha will only negotiate when the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and other liberation groups have been unbanned and their leaders released or unrestricted.

Negotiations between the government and the ANC are the results of Inkatha's initiatives and pioneering work. This is the acknowledgement of our long-held view of peaceful approach to problems.

But when we made a call for the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC, and the release of political prisoners including Dr Nelson Mandela, it was not intended that he should negotiate on our behalf.

[NEW NATION] If Inkatha made a call for the release of political prisoners, what is its attitude towards its inability to meet with Nelson Mandela after he was released from prison?

[Inkatha] We view the snubbing of Inkatha by Mandela in a bad light after we made such great contributions towards his release.

Inkatha is also surprised by Mandela's actions because when he was in prison, he wrote a letter to the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, stating that he appreciated what the president was doing outside for the people.

He even said that on his release he would go straight to Mahlabathini to pay homage to the president of Inkatha and then proceed to kwaNongoma to honour his traditional leader, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

At Mandela's welcome home rally in Durban, he told the crowd that it was Inkatha's contribution which made it possible for him to be released.

In that particular instance, if Mandela had gone to that extent of praising Inkatha, then there must be something wrong within the ANC.

The ANC should also understand that Inkatha wanted to meet with Mandela in order to discuss the violence which has claimed many lives. This meeting will not be to promote the image of our organisation as most people say.

[NEW NATION] How do you then interpret the violence amongst political organisations in the country?

[Inkatha] First and foremost we have all identified apartheid as the cause of violence among the people, if this was not the case I do not think violence would have occurred.

What is presently happening is that the ANC is using its might to crush all forms of opposition to its views by fighting to become the sole representative of the people.

If an organisation or individual does not want to follow the ANC's line, it is then labelled as an enemy of the people and attacked.

The fact is that other organisations such as the PAC and Azanian People's Organisation are suffering the same fate as Inkatha, in terms of violence perpetrated against them by the ANC.

[NEW NATION] What factor contributes towards the spreading of the violence from Natal to the Reef?

[Inkatha] We members of Inkatha totally disagree with the argument being put forward that the violence first started in Natal and it then spread to other areas.

The history of this violence started in Crossroads in the Cape Province during 1983 when the "Witdoeke" were fighting against the UDF [United Democratic Front] and the Congress of South African Students.

The violence which is now occurring on the Reef, is just the continuation of past years' violence which is a fight for power by organisations.

[NEW NATION] Can you explain the cause of the Sebokeng and Kagiso violence which has resulted in the loss of more than 36 lives over the past few weeks?

[Inkatha] Violence in Sebokeng and Kagiso which has resulted in deaths was caused by lack of education amongst supporters and members of our organisations.

If the leadership of organisations can work towards educating their constituencies about political tolerance, then we would not have such situations occurring.

[NEW NATION] Recently there has been deliberate attacks of people in trains and Inkatha is accused of involvement. How does your organisation react to these accusations?

[Inkatha] Inkatha never orchestrated any form of attacks against train commuters, and have no knowledge of who is behind them.

People should watch out for individuals or groups who attack residents in the name of Inkatha; these people are bound to create conflict between us and the people.

The only thing we can say, is not to humiliate Chief Buthelezi by singing derogative songs about him because that creates tension and subsequently leads to conflict.

[NEW NATION] Township residents are suspecting that Inkatha is using hostels as springboards for attacks against residence, adding to fears of the emergence of notorious warlords as in Natal. What message do you have for them?

[Inkatha] Tension created between residents and Inkatha is the result of rumours.

Our constituencies are mainly based inside hostels and have to discuss their organisational problems without interference from any quarter.

We must try to avoid a situation whereby people attack each other because of rumours.

On the question of warlords, in any war situation one finds people who are radical and who are not prepared to adhere to the code of conduct of organisations engaged in a conflict.

Inkatha and other organisations such as ANC and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] have within their ranks radical individuals who are only prepared to fight.

It is up to organisations to deal with those so-called warlords and bring them to order.

[NEW NATION] What do you think ought to be done to normalise the tension amongst political organisations, and what is your vision for the future?

[Inkatha] The present problems go beyond political organisation and the government, but in fact include the community and the media. The media has the ability to influence the community in a positive manner.

I see a bright future for South Africa provided the ANC realises that they are not the only representatives of blacks.

#### \* Threat From Right-Wing Groups Downplayed

90AF0560B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans

18 Jul 90 p 15

[Unattributed article: "Only 30 White Terrorists at Extreme"]

[Text] The radical and secret right-wing groups currently operating at the extreme of the right-wing spectrum have a total membership that probably does not exceed 30, according to most observers.

Numerous observers also believe that the most radical people do not necessarily belong to organizations, but that they link nice-sounding names of organizations to their acts in an attempt to make a deeper impression.

Nevertheless, the problem that remains is that the difficulties caused by individuals and an alleged group such as the Order of the Boer People (OB) are completely out of proportion to the estimated number of members.

This is evidenced by the series of bombings for which groups such as the OD [Order of Death] have already accepted responsibility, and the weapons that have recently been discovered in the possession of similar groups.

And although their membership figures are relatively low, the groups are supported by the much broader sympathy of hundreds of extreme right wingers and even established organizations such as the Boer State Party. All of the people who have aided Mr. Piet Rudolph thus far are not necessarily bombers themselves, but are capable of actively supporting those who are.

The current right-wing violence had its beginnings back in the 1914 rebellion and the activities of the Ossewa Brandwag during the Second World War. After that, things were relatively quiet until the White Commando suddenly raised its head in the late 1970s.

In 1982, AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche was one of nine detainees after a weapons stockpile was discovered at the farm of his brother Andries. He was given a suspended sentence of two years in prison the following year.

However, those events were only vague signs of what was to come, and although right-wing rhetoric in the following years continued to display something of a propensity for violence, the White Wolf murders of 15 November 1988 were to herald the beginning of the next era of violence.

Barend Strydom was sentenced to death for the murders, and during the trial he testified that he was the leader of the White Wolves. This group is allegedly divided into a number of cells that work independently of one another.

However, Colonel Suiker Britz, commander of the Pretoria murder and robbery unit, testified in the same trial that after a thorough investigation he was unable to find any evidence of the existence of such an organization.

Nevertheless, the name White Wolf makes such an impression that in the following months it was apparently seized upon for effect by numerous individuals.

In May of this year, two white men shot two black men to death outside Pretoria and seriously wounded another. The wounded man said that his assailants said that they were with the White Wolves.

However, after the men were apprehended it turned out that the only connection that they had with any right-wing organization was the fact that the uncle of one of them was a founding member of the Boer Freedom Movement and an ex-member of the AWB main council.

After a series of bombings in Johannesburg at the beginning of this month, an anonymous voice at the other end of a telephone line told reporters that the incidents were the work of the White Wolves.

Shortly thereafter, nine men were taken into custody, but once again it turned out to be a loose collection of individuals with former ties to the AWB, while one of them was the head training official of the Boer Resistance Movement.

Two of the nine men, Mr. Leonard Veenendal and Darryl Stopforth, are also being sought by police in Namibia in connection with two murders committed during the transitional period before independence.

A tenth man, Mr. Enrico Francocci, was detained briefly. He confessed that Mr. Rudolph had hidden out in his house. A bomb was placed near his house, apparently for revenge.

The two individuals, Fanie Goosen and Cornelis Lottering, who were allegedly responsible for the bombing are both former members of the so-called Order of Death.

They are both members of a group of five people whose alleged activities were uncovered by police in August of last year. Fanie Goosen and Cornelis Lottering, both ex-members of the AWB, escaped detention a short while later.

They were later linked to a bombing last year in front of the door of Ms. Jani Allan, and are now being sought in connection with three bombings over the weekend.

There is widespread speculation that they could be in contact with Mr. Rudolph, and it is a well-known fact that they have attempted to make contact with him of late.

According to intelligence information, however, Mr. Rudolph is in the process of gathering together an ever-smaller group of confidants. For example, he could not be found when Mr. Veenendal and Mr. Stopforth allegedly tried to join up with him about two months ago.

It is unclear whether the group Order of the Boer People is actually his group or whether it consists of individuals who are exploiting its propagandistic value. In anonymous phone calls, the group has accepted responsibility for the recent bombings at Melrosehuis, two NP [National Party] offices, and the office of a labor union in Rustenburg.

It is significant that the Order only accepted responsibility after news reports on the incidents had already been made public, and after no one else had accepted responsibility for them.

Very little is known about the last secret group, the so-called White Liberation Army (WBL). All that this alleged group has done is to accept responsibility for the recent bombing of a taxi stand in Johannesburg, in which 27 people were injured.

#### \* Far-Right Groups Not Acting as United Front

90AF0560A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
18 Jul 90 p 15

[Article by Jan Taljaard: "Disturbances Among Far Right: AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] Leaders in Lather Over 'Hijacking'"; first paragraph is BEELD introduction]

[Text] For the first time since the 1914 rebellion and the activities of the Ossewa Brandwag during the Second World War, rightist violence is now once again raising its head on a large scale. Although there are probably no more than 30 genuinely radical right wingers, the disturbances in right-wing circles have now potentially led to greater, important shifts of power. Jan Taljaard, chief reporter for BEELD, examines this unsettling phenomenon in the two accompanying articles. [not reproduced]



The disturbances that have characterized extreme right-wing groups of late are not only fostering enormous confusion, but also possibly causing important shifts of power.

Among the more established organizations such as the AWB and the dozens of splinter groups, several organizations have made strong moves to the fore, especially in recent times, primarily because the people who have allegedly planted bombs belong to those organizations or are former members.

Nevertheless, there is still no particular organization or organizations that can be linked to these radical "ultra-right wingers." Rather, it appears that the group of radicals is a much looser grouping that finds its source of nourishment in existing organizations.

Furthermore, it is significant that the AWB—which used to be regarded as the symbol of right-wing radicalism—is now in the process of propagating the image of a relatively "moderate" group within the extreme right-wing extra-parliamentary milieu.

The AWB owes this new image primarily to the fact that recent developments will place that organization, to use a graphic representation, somewhere in the middle of a series of concentric circles.

Based on this representation, the parliamentary parties, such as the CP [Conservative Party] and HNP [Reconstituted National Party] constitute the innermost circle, while a cultural organization such as the Afrikaner People's Guard is in the next, wider circle.

While the AWB initially represented the very outermost circle, that circle now is occupied by organizations such as the Order of Death (OD), the Order of the Boer People (OB), and the White Liberation Army (WBL).

A further consequence of developments has been that the role of organizations that a few months ago were still regarded as rather influential in right-wing circles have now apparently been reduced to an insignificant status, so to speak.

Among these organizations are shadowy groups such as the Afrikaner Front (AF) of the two refugees from the AWB, Mr. Chris Beyers and Mr. Willie Olivier, and the Boer Freedom Movement (BVB) of Professor Alkmaar Swart and Mr. Jan Groenewald, also a former member of the AWB main council.

However, observers point out that it should be remembered that individuals in these organizations continue to enjoy broad influence and respect, and that intermixing between these and other right-wing groups continues to be widespread.

The influence that these people are capable of is probably out of proportion to the conspicuous degree to which the organizations have remained in the background lately, say observers.

Other organizations that used to be regarded as very moderate and even "intellectual" suddenly began to show different colors after 2 February of this year.

One example of such an organization is the Association of Orange Workers, which in the latest issue of its mouthpiece, ORANJE-PERSPEKTIEF, ran a blueprint for a very ambitious and extensive plan of resistance to the government.

For example, the strategy for violence as an option reads as follows: "The monopolies should not function under the illusion that the Afrikaner will not offer violent resistance if he is forced into a corner—the large-scale acquisition of weapons that is already under way provides clear evidence of this."

Furthermore, the plan of resistance notes that 350,000 Afrikaner households could refuse to make their mortgage payments at the end of the month, while Afrikaners are called on to use their economic, administrative, educational, and military power as part of the plan of resistance.

One of the organizations that has made a strong move to the fore in recent times and can be placed somewhere between the innermost and outermost circle in the graphic representation is the Boer State Party (BSP) of Mr. Robert van Tonder.

After the police searched Mr. van Tonder's house in a recent raid, he issued a strong objection to the fact that the house of "a leader of a political party" was searched. He equated the action to a search of the houses of leaders of the NP [National Party], DP [Democratic Party], and CP.

That same "political party," however, has a newly formed military wing, whose head training official, together with eight other extreme right wingers, is currently being detained in connection with a series of bombings in Johannesburg.

The BSP was founded in February of last year in Brits, and initially proceeded to quietly propagate the ideology of a separate Boer state. In recent times, however, the BSP has begun to take on a conspicuously more radical tinge.

The first sign of its new (true?) colors was when its deputy leader, Mr. Piet (Skiet) Rudolph suddenly went underground with an arsenal of stolen weapons. Since then, the leadership of the BSP has supported him openly, and a letter from the fugitive Mr. Rudolph even appeared in the latest issue of its mouthpiece.

In that letter, Mr. Rudolph, among other things, thanked the people who have helped him thus far and expressed the hope that he would still be "on my feet" when his letter reached the publication.

On the front page of that same issue, there appeared a photograph of Mr. van Tonder with Mr. Piet Bester, the

head training official for the BSP's military wing, the Boer Resistance Movement (BWB). Mr. Bester is in detention.

The BWB was founded on 23 June of this year to serve as the military wing of the BSP. However, one look at the history of the people in the BWB is enough to show clearly the radical orientation of the BSP.

After the Paardekraal watershed, a number of AWB members took advantage of the occasion to form their own organizations. One of them was Mr. Eddie von Maltitz, a farmer from Ficksburg, for whom, in his own words, the AWB "was too left wing and too respectable."

His "New AWB" [N-AWB] initially gained a good deal of ground in the Orange Free State, but when its geographical limitations began to become obvious Mr. von Maltitz attempted earlier this year to enter into talks with the AWB, the goal being reincorporation into the latter.

However, the AWB ignored his numerous attempts, and ultimately the N-AWB disbanded and was absorbed by the BWB. Mr. Andrew Ford, the former deputy leader of the N-AWB, was chosen leader. Mr. von Maltitz now regards himself as part of the BWB.

Furthermore, it is significant how many AWB members in recent times have ended up in the ranks of the BWB and BSP. This phenomenon reinforces the concern of Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche and other leading figures in the AWB that their Civic Councils will be misused or even hijacked by other organizations.

Following the conclusion of a cooperative agreement between the AWB, the BSP, and the Transvaal Separatists of Dr. Piet Cloete at the end of last year, according to which they would work together under the name "Boer Separatists," and even hold an election for a national assembly, it now appears that this cooperation is dead.

The planned national assembly has been postponed, while personal differences have also interfered. A contributing factor to the crumbling of the trinity is the disappearance of Mr. Rudolph. Before his disappearance, he was a board member of all three organizations.

Among the former AWB members now in the BSP fold is Mr. Ben Strijdom, a businessman from Bethal who in the absence of Mr. Rudolph has been named deputy leader of the BSP. Although Mr. Strijdom was a founding member of the BSP, he was also the regional leader of the AWB in the eastern Transvaal for many years.

Mr. Lood Minnie and Mr. Leon van Rensburg, who are in detention together with Mr. Bester, are both former members of the AWB who were noticed at BWB meetings prior to their arrest.

But while it appears now that the BSP has perhaps become a refuge for a couple of the "wild men" of the AWB, it is certainly true that not all the members of the BSP can be regarded as radical.

Aside from his most recent statements, Mr. van Tonder is regarded on all sides as a very courteous and decent man, and is even known as one of the extreme right wing's intellectuals.

Mr. Schalk Jacobsz, the well-known actor and also a founding member of the BSP, is the organization's "secretary of language and culture." On 27 May of this year, he and his wife, Elma Potgieter, gave public readings at the CP's national rally at Monument Hill.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful that they will do so again. In the latest issue of the BSP mouthpiece, the CP is bitterly criticized for abusing the flag of the late South African Republic at the rally, for example, and for condemning Mr. Rudolph's actions.

#### **\* Mkhoseli Jack on Nonracial Municipal System**

*90AF0656A Lusaka SECHABA in English  
Aug 90 pp 4-5*

[Interview with Mkhoseli Jack, a civic leader in Port Elizabeth; date and place not given]

[Text] Comrade Mkhoseli, recently there have been stories in the newspapers that councilors in Port Elizabeth have voted that there should be a single, non-racial municipal system for the whole of Port Elizabeth, for both black and white. This is not going to take effect now, but the resolution, in principle, has been taken. Can you give us the background to this resolution?

Well, you may remember the formation of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization in 1979. It was around the question of bad living conditions and poor social services for the community. The call centered around the question of housing and sewerage systems and, because the black local councilors of the puppet structures were not addressing these issues, the people's call was for one municipality for the city of Port Elizabeth. This was based on the fact that we realized that the dummy councils could not generate any income to improve the township, because they depended on rent. The people backed this demand with a lot of campaigns and protest struggles that led, in fact, to many of the actions that were taken by the general public, like the consumer boycott, the isolation of the puppet structures. All these actions culminated in driving home very strongly the point to the powers that be that there would be a big risk if they continued to support the black local authority system.

At this point in time, and with many a small black local authority falling apart in the Eastern Cape in places like Steytlerville, Jansenville and Alexandria, where people have engaged in boycotts to bring them down, the Port Elizabeth municipality, which is still licking its wounds from the last boycott offensive by our people, realizes the danger of this kind of weapon being reapplied. And, the possibility, judging by the mood of the people, is that it could be reapplied.

Comrade Mkhoseli, you were very heavily involved in the boycott campaign of 1985-86. Actually, you were at the head of it. It would seem that this had a very great impact on the white community in Port Elizabeth, particularly the business people. What do you think about that, in relation to the events today?

Well, in the boycott one of the strongest demands that were made to the business people was the establishment of one municipality in the Port Elizabeth area—a non-racial one. The business people expected that, and accepted that, but they wouldn't act then, because they were still feeling that they could go round it. And, as late as November last year, they were still toying with the idea of a sort of tricameral system of a municipality at local level. This was revealed at a meeting with the city council. In a workshop that was organized at the time, they put their position on this kind of a tricameral type of a municipality. We rejected that system, and said that it would never work, just like the parliamentary tricameral system that has fallen on its face.

And what about the puppet councilors, that is, the black councilors? Have they played any role, have they agreed to this single municipality system?

Well, certainly they are not going to be happy with it, but I think they are shaken by the fact that it does appear that De Klerk, in the face of the massive resistance and attack on the regime, is neglecting these puppets. Many of them are realizing that De Klerk has no time for them, and they are isolated with some of them disillusioned. I think most of them are just remaining in their posts at the moment for purposes of getting their salaries from one month to the next. I don't think they are still ideologically strongly attached to these councils, because they have seen that they are not working.

We learn that the consumer boycott, far from being dead with that big one of Port Elizabeth in 85-86, had gone on to some smaller rural areas—in some places it's not even reported. We hear from sporadic reports from one person or another coming from these areas that there is a consumer boycott. Do you think such boycotts can have any effect?

Oh yes!—there are a lot of boycotts. For instance in Kirkwood, there was a boycott when I left there, and the business community was just crying, committing itself to one municipality with the comrades there. In Bedford, the Cathcart, in Stutterheim, those are areas that have been ravaged by consumer boycotts which are very heavy. There is no doubt that the boycott weapon is being used. In other areas, and in certain parts of the Northern Transvaal, there are boycotts but the commercial press is trying its level best not to report these boycotts, to play them down.

There is this idea advanced by people like Margaret Thatcher, that sanctions don't work. That blacks are the more affected. It's the same argument when it comes to consumer boycotts—that blacks will be the more affected, therefore they would say we should not have one boycott or another. What is your view, as a person who has been involved in it? What drives the people to boycott even if they are told, "You should not boycott, because you'll be affected economically!"?

Well, it's the whole question of understanding that the eradication of apartheid goes with strong suffering. I mean, people understand that, and people are choosing to suffer because they want to achieve a certain goal. I think that if Margaret Thatcher or anybody else questions the effectiveness of the sanctions, nobody can answer them better than De Klerk and his Parliament at the moment.

We don't have to answer that question any more—who is going to suffer from sanctions. We have passed the stage where we have to give arguments and answers to that. De Klerk is there in Pretoria to answer anybody who wants to know the effect of sanctions. The people choose the consumer boycott; they know that they are going to lose jobs. They know some people are going to suffer, but it is what they have chosen.

Many of our comrades have chosen to leave South Africa for foreign countries where life has never been good for them. Some of our comrades have gone to jail, where life has been miserable. Some of them have died. All that is suffering, a suffering that people can avoid, but because of their rejection of the apartheid system they have decided that they are prepared to go through that pain. We don't want anybody else, who has no interest in our affairs, to tell us that we are going to suffer, because we have suffered for many years.

Would you think that you are going on the same plane with everybody else in the country who is speaking about the Constituent Assembly, when you speak about a democratic municipal system?

Well, certainly, a Constituent Assembly is what we all, at a national level, are working towards—but we are also looking at issues that affect us on the ground. We are dealing with them on the basis of our various regions, but certainly we are all one in the call for single municipalities, right across the length and breadth of the country. As for the question of the Constituent Assembly, we believe that if De Klerk is a reformer and a man who is going to help, the only thing that can convince us is when he begins to also work for a Constituent Assembly. Once we reach that point, we believe we can feel safe and comfortable. But for anything less than that, I don't think we can ever consider lifting the sanctions and mass struggles against the Pretoria regime.



## Angola

### Dos Santos Meets Namibia's Nujoma in Lubango

*MB1809122990 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is meeting Sam Nujoma, his Namibian counterpart, in Lubango city today.

Radio Angola's Huila Province correspondent provides the details:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leader Sam Nujoma is in Angola for the first time since he became president of the Republic of Namibia in March this year.

Given that Angola and Namibia share a vast border, the authorities of both countries have been making efforts to establish a legal base to control bilateral cooperation. It was for this reason that Angolan President Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos came to Lubango city this morning to welcome Sam Nujoma, his Namibian counterpart.

It was here in Lubango that Presidents Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Sam Nujoma held their first official talks. It is believed that these talks will lead to the signing of bilateral cooperation accords. The reason for these moves is that the Angolan authorities are particularly concerned about the fact that drought in southern Angola has made [words indistinct] Angolans have been giving preference to the Namibian market.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is accompanied by Huila Provincial Commissar Lopo do Nascimento; Cunene Provincial Commissar Pedro Mutinde; the ministers of transportation and fisheries; Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura; the deputy foreign minister for cooperation; and Angolan Ambassador to Namibia Alberto do Carmo Bento Ribeiro.

Namibian President Sam Nujoma's delegation includes Mines and Energy Minister Toivo ja Toivo; Information and Broadcasting Minister Hidipo Hamutenya; and the secretary general for the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, Water, and Rural Development [title as heard].

The talks are expected to end this afternoon. [end recording]

### Cooperation Accord Signed

*MB1909063790 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Namibian President Sam Nujoma have signed a general cooperation accord providing for the creation of a joint Angolan-Namibian commission. This followed a meeting lasting a few hours between the two officials in Huila Province's Lubango city yesterday.

A communique issued at the end of the talks says Angolan Transportation and Communications Minister

Antonio Paulo Kassoma and Namibian Information and Broadcasting Minister Hidipo Hamutenya also signed an accord on the utilization and development of the Cunene River's water resources.

Talks between the Angolan and Namibian presidential teams focused on bilateral economic cooperation, particularly in the fields of transportation, communications, fisheries, energy, and water, as well as natural resource improvement programs.

The communique also states that Presidents Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Sam Nujoma have undertaken to promote security and stability along the common border for the sake of greater prosperity for the Angolan and Namibian peoples as well as increased border trade.

### President Voices Concern Over Aid to UNITA

*MB1809201290 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1949 GMT 18 Sep 90*

[Text] Luanda, 17 Sep (ANGOP)—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said he is worried and confused about continued U.S. secret military aid to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

Speaking over television with several U.S. Congressmen, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos warned that the "continued and growing levels of military support for UNITA will encourage war rather than peace" in the country. The Angolan head of state said: "I am very concerned about the continuation and eventual increase of secret military aid for UNITA and the effect it will have on the Angolan people, the Angolan peace process, our economy, and the efforts being made to resolve the problem of famine."

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos noted that "for the sake of peace, UNITA must undertake, as we have done, to arrive at a consensus regarding our talks in Portugal. This is my aim but I am not yet convinced that UNITA shares it."

The Angolan head of state affirmed that "UNITA intensified its attacks over the last few weeks. UNITA has increased its military operations against civilian centers, oil installations, railroads, bridges, public roads, hydro-electric complexes, and powerlines, thereby making it very difficult for us to create a climate permitting national reconciliation."

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos reiterated the Angolan Government's readiness for and his personal commitment to "a negotiated settlement rather than a military solution to our internal conflict. The Angolan people are tired of war and want peace."

He also reiterated the Angolan Government's acceptance of the principle of holding general and multiparty elections after a cease-fire accord ensuring the cessation of military hostilities. [Words indistinct] the participation of neutral international observers in the Angolan peace process.

**Trade Minister Reports More Goods Available**

*MB1909080390 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Trade and Industry Minister [title as heard] Dumilde das Chagas Simoes Rangel has said in Luanda that within the framework of measures prescribed by the Angolan Government's plan of action, more consumer goods will be available to the population this year than in previous years.

The Angolan trade and industry minister noted that despite difficulties, the truth is that we began witnessing the recovery of industrial production last year, which showed a 13-percent increase in comparison with previous (?years).

Minister Dumilde Rangel also announced that the planned supply of nonbasic goods for direct consumption is expected to be higher. He added that if this is implemented, it should help increase consumer satisfaction.

**Official Says Education 'To Be Liberalized'**

*MB1909084190 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 19 Sep 90*

[Text] Luis Filipe da Silva, deputy education minister for professional training, has announced in Luanda that education in Angola is to be liberalized.

Speaking to ANGOP, Deputy Minister Luis Filipe da Silva said that the liberalization of education in the country will allow religious and private entities to take part in professional training when using their own funds.

Deputy Minister Luis Filipe da Silva said that these entities should offer language, computer, typewriting, and secretarial courses, among others. He noted that a commission has already been created to negotiate with the interested entities.

**\* CC Member Visits Brazilian Opposition Party**

*90AF0637F Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in  
Portuguese 3 Aug 90 p 2*

[Text] Rio de Janeiro (from our ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY] correspondent)—Department of Organization of the Central Committee [DORGAN] Director Bornito de Sousa said in Brazil that peace is required first before considering political pluralism.

In an interview with ANGOP in Rio de Janeiro, the third and final stage of a visit to Brazil that took him to the cities of Sao Paulo and Brasilia, he emphasized that political pluralism is not a system out of the scope of understanding of the Angolan authorities.

Central Committee member Bornito de Sousa was in Brazil to discuss party organization issues in foreign countries. The Angolan leader also had meetings with various Brazilian parties, in particular the PMDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party), the largest party opposing the Collor government.

A meeting with the governing PRN (National Reconstruction Party) did not occur because party leaders were engaged in a dispute for the control of Rio de Janeiro, which the federal government fears will fall to opposition leader Leonel Brizola of the PDT (Democratic Labor Party) in next October's elections.

The DORGAN director also said that in all his contacts his counterparts displayed esteem and admiration for the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]—Labor Party and for the Angolan Government.

The Angolan leader held that for the peace process to make progress, it is necessary for the US and South Africa to abstain from supporting UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], to facilitate negotiations with the Angolan authorities.

**Comoros****Arrests of Coup Attempt Suspects Continue**

*AB1909063090 Paris AFP in English 1540 GMT  
18 Sep 90*

[Text] Moroni, Sept 18 (AFP)—A suspect in last month's foiled coup in the Comoro Islands has died after being transferred to hospital, state radio reported. He was post office worker Said Mlinde, who was among a score of people being held for allegedly plotting to destabilize the regime with mercenary help by striking at French interests here and at prime government targets such as the radio building and a military camp.

The last three arrests were made on Monday when police made a raid at Vouadjou near the capital after spotting French mercenary Max Veillard, the supposed ring-leader, police chief Abdul Hamid Abdourazakou said.

Mr Veillard escaped. 'Wanted' posters offering five million Comoran francs (almost 19,000 dollars) for his arrest have been put up in public places and at Hahaya international airport.

The radio interviewed two of the latest suspects captured at the house where the mercenary was sheltering, and they said he was in the islands with the precise objective of assassinating President Said Djohar. The authorities said most of the suspects are supporters of Mr Djohar's rival Mohamed Taki, who was the loser in presidential elections last March.

Earlier reports said four European mercenaries were in the Indian Ocean islands, but Major Abdourazakou said only Mr. Veillard was being hunted at present. The radio's report about Mr. Mlinde's death said doctors at the Al Maaroud hospital found no signs of ill-treatment. The local human rights association has asked for permission to visit the detainees following unconfirmed reports of torture and mistreatment.

**Mauritius**

**\* SGD Request To Recall Nababsing Denied**

90AF0618C Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
14 Aug p 1

[Article: "Ringadoo Refuses To Revoke Nababsing"]

[Text] In a letter dated 6 August, Governor-General Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo has turned down Sir Gaetan Duval's [SGD] request that Duval himself be named leader of the opposition in place of Dr. Prem Nababsing, who currently serves in that position.

Sources in the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] noted that Ringadoo's letter is very brief and "omits the polite salutation, 'Dear Sir Gaetan.'"

The following is the full [English-language original] text of the governor-general's letter:

The Hon. Sir Gaetan Duval, Q.C., MLA

Galerie Remy Ollier

Place Foch

Port Louis

6 August 1990

I acknowledge receipt of your letters of the 30th July and 3rd August and I refer to the last paragraph of your first letter requesting the revocation of the present Leader of the Opposition and your appointment to the said office.

I am writing to inform you that I am unable to accede to your request.

Yours sincerely,

V. Ringadoo,

Governor-General

**\* 1988-89 Central Bank Report; Findings Discussed**

90AF0578B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
1 Aug 90 p 12

[Article by Leon Baya: "Central Bank Concerned Over Price Stability, Control of Inflation, and Demand"]

[Text] Mauritius's economic situation requires restabilization of prices, mobilization of more savings, and containment of demand. The latter would make it possible to curb the growth of imports. These were the principal conclusions made by the Bank of Mauritius in the 1988-89 annual report it has just made public.

The central bank believes that in the present situation it is crucial that the current wise macroeconomic and macrofinancial policies be pursued vigorously, since such policies have in the past laid solid foundations for strong growth, price stability, and a positive balance of payments. Also,

the Bank of Mauritius has no plans to depart from its restrictive monetary and credit policies which, in conjunction with appropriate budgetary policies, should serve to curb demand and hence consumption.

According to the banking authorities, previous signs that the Mauritian economy was overheating persisted in 1988-89: consumer spending continued to grow, to the detriment of savings, and inflation increased. Substantial wage increases complicated budgetary control and pushed up "aggregate demand" in the economy. The Bank of Mauritius predicted that economic growth in 1989-90 would be lower than the 4.2 percent rate seen in 1988-89. "The continuing growth of consumption demand and declining pace of savings will worsen the trade balance further. The current account of the balance of payments is likely to swing to a deficit after four successive years of surpluses," according to the report.

The central bank economists said the economy was at full employment in 1988-89. That is why, in response to the situation prevailing in the labor market and wage pressure, and in order to assure sustained growth over the medium term, the Mauritian economy is currently passing through a transition phase in which the emphasis is on development of capital-intensive production technologies. "This transition, however, requires substantial capital investment, and therefore a higher rate of savings," said the Bank of Mauritius. The bank believes that in this situation it is vitally important to stem inflation, in order to encourage more savings and reassure investors about the state of the economy.

In its review of economic conditions in 1988-89, the central bank noted that financial performance for the year "marked a break from the favorable trends recorded in the preceding four years," but that a slowdown in growth is necessary when the economy is at full employment and overheated. It also cited the urgent need to contain inflation. However, the monetary authorities believe the economy can sustain a five-percent growth rate over the medium term.

**\* Muslims Seek Protection of MLP in 'Republic'**

90AF0618B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
15 Aug 90 p 5

[Article: "Maulanas and Imams From 140 Mosques Demand Vote on Republic Issue"; boldface passages published in Creole]

[Text] The "Jami-at-ul-Ulama Walana-Aimmah Li Ahlis Sunnah Wal Jamah," an Islamic religious and sociocultural association whose membership includes some 140 mosques and 300 imams around the island, is calling for a popular vote on the proposal to make Mauritius a republic. "We are neither for nor against the republic proposal. We are for putting the issue to a vote, and we support certain fundamental freedoms and the preservation of certain democratic principles, including protection of the rights of minorities," said maulanas Jameel



Chooramum and Haroon Hassan and imam Beeharry. They believe the republic question must be put to a referendum.

At a press conference held yesterday in Rabita Hall, Port Louis, the religious leaders of the Islamic association protested the fact that certain religious principles are being trampled. The maulanas appealed to all Islamic members of parliament to consider their responsibilities before deciding for or against the republic.

"In democratic Mauritius, there are still repressive laws that trample on religious freedom. If the new republic further consolidates fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, freedom of association, cultural and religious freedom, and freedom of assembly, then we are in favor of it," said the maulanas.

Also, the religious leaders said "the Napoleonic Code cannot replace Muslim Personal Law [MPL]. Islam has five pillars: we cannot do without MPL."

The maulanas believe establishment of a consultative committee to consider possible revocation of the MPL is "deceitful."

"The MPL is established law. No one has the right to rescind it. The Koranic statutes must be respected. We cannot support the republic proposal if it threatens our religious freedoms. The Muslim community considers the MPL a sacred prerogative. Revocation of the MPL has violated our Koranic traditions. One cannot speak of consolidating religious freedom when they are putting us in chains. The Koran and our traditions will have to be respected," said the maulanas.

The religious leaders also expressed their anxiety about the way the government has presented the republic proposal to the people.

"People ask us what the mosques think about the republic proposal. It should be submitted to the people. The people have a right to decide on a public issue of such great importance. The head of government cannot act like a god or demigod."

The maulanas also said they are unhappy with the explanations some Muslim members of parliament are giving about the republic proposal.

"They have jumped too quickly into this project," they concluded.

#### \* Court of Assizes To Try Ghani, 'Conspirators'

90AF0618A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
13 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by Koomara Venkatasamy: "Iqbal Ghani and Four Confederates Bound Over for Trial in Grand-Bassin Attack Against Jugnauth"]

[Text] Mohammad Ghani will be bound over for trial in the court of Assizes to answer a charge of ("attempted

murder"). Iqbal Ghani's four friends—Mahmade Salim Fatehmamode, Bashir Mohammad Khodabaccus, Anwar Hossen Ayoob, and Azad Zoolfoo—will appear before the court on conspiracy charges. These rulings were handed down this morning by Judge (Mrs.) Deviance Beesoondoyal, who presided over the preliminary inquest convoked by the public prosecutor in Curepipe criminal court.

The prosecution, represented by Mr. Nuvin Bhoirul, senior crown counsel, accused Ghani, a Port Louis youth, of attempting to kill Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth with a razor late in the afternoon of Friday 3 March 1989 at "Bhageeratte Hall" in Grand-Bassin. The prime minister was in Grand-Bassin that day with his wife and a number of notables to attend a cultural event on the margins of the "Maha Shivaratee" ceremony. Ghani stationed himself just behind Sir Anerood and his bodyguards. Taking advantage of the momentary distraction of the latter during a speech by one of the officials of the organizational committee, the defendant, who was dressed in white like all the religious pilgrims, pulled out his razor and pushed himself forward, grabbing Sir Anerood's shoulder while he brandished the razor.

The bodyguards, other police officers in attendance, and several members of the audience intervened; the man was arrested and taken to the headquarters garrison, where he underwent lengthy interrogation. The four other suspects, all friends of Ghani who live in the capital, were arrested shortly afterward. Sir Gaetan Duval, Q.C. [Queen's Counsel], appeared for Ghani at the preliminary inquest. Ahmad Jeewah and Raouf Gulbul represented the other four suspects.

#### \* New Christian Political Party Created

90AF0578C Port Louis WEEK-END in French  
5 Aug 90 p 4

[Article: "Christian Democratic Union Formed"]

[Text] A new political party has just been formed, the Christian Democratic Union (UDC) led by Mr. Roland Descombes, an insurance agent and travel agency owner.

Meeting with the press on Friday, Mr. Descombes said his party (which will elect its executive committee in the weeks to come) plans to unite Christians in an effort to obtain more consideration from the next government. He announced creation of a Christian Advisory Council—analogous to the Hindu Council—which will be composed of politically neutral personalities.

The UDC leader eulogized Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and the current prime minister and announced that his party would cooperate with the next government. Being "a regional group that has just reached third-division status" (but with hopes of making first division), the UDC is going to support a ticket sponsored by one of the major existing formations—whichever one "accepts the ideas we propose."

With regard to the plan to make Mauritius a republic, the UDC insists that either the president or the prime minister—whichever is given the most power—be limited to serving three terms.

**\* Boolell Claims SA Influence in New Alliance**

90AF0578A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
4 Aug 90 p 4

[Article by Raj Gowrea: "Boolell Says MSM-MMM Alliance Under Foreign Influence"; boldface passages published in Creole]

[Text] The leader of the Labor Party [PT], Sir Satcam Boolell, says he is convinced the electoral alliance between the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement] and the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] was concocted with the blessings of the Malagasy president, Didier Ratsiraka, and President France Albert Rene of the Seychelles. Earlier, PT secretary general Kailash Purryag had gone even further, claiming the machinations of South Africa and President de Klerk could be seen in the MSM/MMM alliance.

The two Labor leaders made their allegations public yesterday at the party's second rally at Riviere-du-Rempart, which was part of an informational campaign in which Boolell in particular emphasized the "real political and cultural threat this Seychelles-Madagascar axis" represents for Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth's ingratitude toward him and the PT, the "sinister" influence of Mr. Paul Berenger on certain economic decisions, and the "casteist flavor" of the campaign already launched by an MSM minister who is very close to Jugnauth and who, according to Boolell, played a key role in cementing the MSM/MMM alliance.

"The situation is serious" was the theme of all the comments by the Labor speakers on the country's political situation. "Our country can still be ruled by Ratsiraka, after 20 years of independence, or by Rene, who seized power in a coup. And today, South Africa wants to tell us what to do," added Sir Satcam, referring to the "South African axis" in the aftermath of an article that appeared yesterday in MAURICIEN regarding a possible trade agreement between South Africa and Mauritius—a pact in which Mr. Berenger has a personal interest, according to Boolell.

"Mr. Berenger is a big hypocrite. All the time he pretended he was against South Africa. Now I ask myself if he isn't just playacting," Boolell said, adding that at the right time and place he will make other revelations, because he knows a number of "secrets" about the matter.

Boolell believes that the facts advanced by the prime minister to show that he [Jugnauth] was the person who forged the MSM/MMM alliance are misleading and "false." "The alliance was ultimately dictated by other countries. And in Mauritius you have to watch out. Jugnauth is only one simple individual. There are many

people who can put pressure on him. When the MMM puts pressure on him, he will succumb to it. Then we will see who suffers!"

It is for this reason that Boolell predicted "a situation comparable to the deculturation process that prevailed after June 1982." According to Boolell, a candidate has already been found to replace the current general manager of MBC [Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation], Mr. Anil Surajbali.

Turning to another subject, Sir Satcam denounced what he called the "casteist" campaign being waged against him by cabinet minister Madun Dulloo, who he said was instrumental in putting together the MSM/MMM alliance "with the blessings of the Seychelles." According to the "red party" leader, the same minister reportedly discussed the MSM/MMM alliance in the Seychelles during a recent official visit to discuss fishing industry matters.

The PT leader also unhesitatingly reaffirmed his contention that when Mauritius becomes a republic the first presidency should be given posthumously to Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

Also, Sir Satcam paid homage to several MSM leaders who he claims had the courage to denounce the MSM/MMM alliance. He also claimed that the PT had never considered betraying the MSM and the government, which holds a comfortable majority. In that connection, he again denied the PT was trying to negotiate an alliance with the MMM, at least not with Mr. Berenger. Boolell said he would resign from the government if the MMM can prove otherwise. At the start of his speech, Sir Satcam challenged the prime minister to throw out the PT cabinet ministers if he is unhappy about the actions of the "reds" following the MSM/MMM accord.

To conclude, the leader of the "reds" said that Dr. Navin Ramgoolam will be making a political commitment to the Laborites. He avowed his intention to give the son of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam an important position. "In due time we will bring him with us," Boolell said.

**\* Increase in Agricultural Production Reported**

90AF0662B Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French  
21 Aug 90 p 3

[Article: "11 Percent Increase in Agricultural Production"; boldface passages published in English]

[Text] Agricultural production increased by about 11 percent in 1989, compared with 1988, the Digest of Agricultural Statistics published by the Ministry of Plan shows.

The area used for food crops was about the same in 1989 as in 1988, i.e., some 5,200 hectares. In official circles, people are pleased with this performance, as agricultural activities were considerably handicapped by the Firinga and Krissy hurricanes.

In fact, a total of 60,415 tons of produce were marketed in 1989, compared with 54,400 tons during the previous

year. Potato production increased by 40 percent, from 12,770 tons in 1988 to 18,210.

The increase in the production of this starchy food is due to an increase in the area under cultivation—from 673 to 862 hectares—and to improved yields.

On the other hand, corn production keeps decreasing year after year. The 1989 harvest was one half that of 1984, i.e., about 2,300 tons.

Ginger production was improved, while banana production was set back by the hurricanes. Banana production was reduced by 40 percent: 4,640 tons in 1989 compared with 7,920 tons in 1988.

As far as meat production is concerned, the beef population decreased by 27 percent, but the other subsectors experienced an improvement in 1989, compared with 1988.

Chicken production jumped 17 percent, reaching some 10,500 tons of table chicken. Beef production increased only by 5 percent, to 1,641 tons.

According to these statistics, chicken consumption per inhabitant increased by 70 percent from 1985 to 1989. In fact, Mauritians ate 11.65 kg of chicken per person per year, i.e., about 32 grams per day.

On the other hand, beef consumption decreased slightly last year, compared with 1985: 5.69 kg per year in 1985, 5.51 kg in 1989.

Despite the increase in beef production, local production decreased. According to available data, there was a 40-percent decrease in the number of locally raised heads of cattle that were slaughtered, while cattle imports keep increasing.

As far as fish is concerned, there was a 7 percent decline in 1989. This was also true of catches from the banks. "Production from the banks decreased by 31 percent and that of fresh fish remained almost constant at around 2,500 tons," the official report also noted.

The consumption of fish and other fish preparations averaged of 17.31 kg per person last year, compared with 14.4 kg in 1980. The lowest average recorded during the eighties was 12.13 kg in 1983.

#### \* Ship Acquired To Assure Regional, SA Trade

90AF0662C Port Louis THE SUN in French  
15 Aug 90 p 3

[Article: "Purchase of a 12,000-ton Ship Considered; 'MV Mauritius' to Remain in Service Until November 1991"]

[Text] Mauritian authorities are considering the acquisition of a 12,000-ton ship to facilitate the transport of staples (rice, dry grains, canned food, etc.) which Mauritius imports from the East, Europe, and South Africa.

The news was confirmed to THE SUN by the minister of trade and navigation, Mr. Dwarkanath Gungah, who

indicated that, in view of rising freight costs, the acquisition of such a ship would enable the country to save foreign currency and achieve a modicum of independence as far as sea freight is concerned.

The new ship thus acquired will be added to the Mauritius Pride, the brand new ship that will transport passengers and cargo between Mauritius, Rodriguez, the Reunion island, and South Africa.

The Mauritius Pride was purchased for 350 million rupees; it was officially delivered to Mauritian authorities last 18 July and will cast anchor in the Port Louis harbor around 20 August. The ship has a gross tonnage of 5,234 tons and is equipped with enhanced facilities to ensure passenger comfort.

Minister Gungah said he was convinced that the new unit of the Mauritian navy will act as a catalyst in the development of maritime trade between Mauritius and other countries in the region.

We also learned that the MV Mauritius, which services the islands, especially Mauritius and Rodriguez, will remain in service until November 1991.

In a telephone conversation, yesterday, Mr. Derek Taylor, chief executive officer of the Rogers group, which owns the MV Mauritius, stated that the ship had served its time. However, no decision has yet been made as to what to do with it.

### Mozambique

#### Council of Ministers Meets, Approves Documents

MB1809194090 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers held its 26th session today. It approved decrees on import controls, state personnel retrenchments for efficiency purposes, and the restructuring of personnel.

The Council of Ministers also approved the document on the resolution for ratifying the Fourth Lome Convention between the EEC and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries of 15 December 1989.

The Council of Ministers also approved the trade accord with the Republic of Gabon and the accord for creating a joint cooperation commission with the Republic of Mali.

The Council of Ministers also approved four general cooperation accords with the Republics of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Rwanda, and Namibia.

#### Renamo Says It Will Not Attend Peace Talks

MB1809184490 Blantyre Domestic Service  
in English 1600 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance Movement, Renamo, said today that it would boycott peace



talks until the government stops alleged attacks on the movement's strongholds in that country.

The Renamo statement was issued in Lisbon today as the two sides were due to begin their third round of peace talks in Rome.

The statement accused the Mozambican Government of launching an offensive at Renamo's headquarters at Gorongosa and Zambezia Province in which, it said, many people have been killed.

**\* Zambezia Receives Influx of Displaced Persons**

90AF0619A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
4 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] An average of 700 people per day entered the 13 districts of Zambezia Province between January and June of this year, according to the latest report by the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters (DPCCN).

The report states that the influx of people is a result of the Mozambican Army's military actions against the armed bandit strongholds in that province, which have resulted in the liberation of a great number of people held captive.

As of last June the province had a total of 1.22 million needy people, including 909,598 dislocated persons and 205,737 people affected by the war, in a province that has some three million inhabitants, according to the 1980 census.

The districts in which the population influx was concentrated were Ile, Gurue, Namarroi, Pebane, Maganja da Costa, Milange, Mocuba, Lugela, Inhassunge, Nicoadala, Mopeia, Alto Molocue and Gile.

According to the document, the "most critical" shortages have been noted at the Lugela District headquarters, which still records an average of 40 people arriving daily, the communities of Nampevo and Nipide in Gile District, with 5,300 and 18,321 dislocated persons, respectively, and Mbauane and Getaga in Pebane District, with 1,417 and 7,500 persons.

The shortages are worsened by the drought and lack of fertile land, particularly in the districts of Nicoadala, Namacurra, Chinde, Mopela, Inhassunge, Pebane and Maganja da Costa, affecting a total of 274,861 people.

The aid-channelling process is made difficult by the limited number of vehicles for road transport, since of the 49 DPCCN trucks in the province, only 40 are actually operational.

The document warns that the 429,000 dislocated people counted in the 1990/91 Appeal has increased to 703,861, making the food situation in Zambezia even more critical.

The total number of needy includes those returning from neighboring Malawi and Tete Province, currently 29,000 per day.

According to the document, as of May the number of people that had returned was 17,289, of whom 14,318 came to Milange, on the border with Malawi, 2,946 to Nicoadala and 25 to the city of Quelimane, the provincial capital.

The report states that in April a joint mission of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and various liberation movements identified a secure area with agricultural potential for relocating the refugees in Mocuba District.

After identifying the area, work subcommittees were created covering the areas of reception, registration, production, logistics and training of the returnees.

**\* Over 300,000 in Maputo Need Emergency Aid**

90AF0619B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
2 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] More than 300,000 people, including displaced persons and those affected by the war in Maputo Province, are finding themselves at this time in situations of difficulty, in need of free food aid under the framework of the Emergency Program. According to the Provincial Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters [DPCCN], 1,985,000 persons are currently estimated to be benefitting from support in the form of food aid, in particular millet, vegetables and oil, among other products.

According to the DPCCN, despite the prevalence of the effects of the war and the natural disasters, there has been a decline this period compared to the final six months of last year, from 173,300 to around 84,000 displaced persons in the first six months of this year. This decline, according to the same sources, is a result of the efforts undertaken by the district emergency commissions to reintegrate the displaced persons, which has translated into the distribution of land for agricultural production. As a result of this initiative, some 44 percent of the needy no longer depend upon emergency goods.

Meanwhile, the number of those affected has increased considerably, from 206,506 persons covered under the 89/90 Appeal to 289,650 in the 90/91 Appeal, representing an increase on the order of 71.2 percent. According to the Director of the Provincial Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters, the increase in this population group is because of the drought, insufficient agricultural land because of the galloping increase in population density in the urban centers or in areas considered more secure, and constant intimidation of the people on the part of the BA's [Armed Bandits], which thus prevents people from working in peace.

In this environment, comparing the current number of beneficiaries to the trend of constantly rising numbers of displaced and affected persons, it has been shown, according to those bodies, that food needs are growing, which implies that the minimum ration of subsistence

approved by the government for each needy person to receive per day or per month will suffer yet another reduction, in order to cover such a high number of people.

"If the number of displaced and affected people continues to rise, that will cause the level of needs to rise," said the DPPCCN director. Later he stated that countless factors have contributed to the noncompletion of the goals established during the first half of the year, in particular access routes to various points in the province, which are in terrible condition, causing enormous damage to the transport of goods. For example, the DPPCCN director said that in the first six months alone some ten trucks had been paralyzed.

He added that to resolve the road problem the government had recommended that aid for the needy be transported by air bridge. Nevertheless, according to that official, in order to do so three conditions must be in place, namely financing, security guarantees, and landing strips for places such as Matutuine, which do not have them, this last condition not having yet been satisfied.

With reference to the free distribution of food, 8,201.4 tons of millet, 1,194.5 tons of vegetables and 298.8 tons of oil were planned for the first six months. However, factors such as logistical resources, insufficient stocks, and others difficulties contributed to these goals not being achieved, with only 5,628 tons of millet, 619.5 of vegetables and 25.8 of cooking oil being distributed, as well as other products such as clothing and blankets, through direct distribution.

It was noted that the district showing the highest number of displaced and affected persons benefitting in the first six months from the DPPCCN support is Magude, with 52,308.

#### \* Improvements Under Way at Beira Port

90AF0619C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
2 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Beira Port could within the next few years be able to handle an average of 100,000 containers per year, compared to the 18,000 that are currently being handled, according to a recent report by our correspondent in the Sofala capital.

According to a source at the container terminal who provided this information, the "Plantrans" and ACP companies of Finland, Sweden, and Holland, respectively, are currently involved in training and instructing personnel so as to bring this plan to fruition.

The source said that these activities will be undertaken after completing the personnel training and instruction, since it is intended that the initiative involve all the "Kalmar" type machines, the capacities of which vary between 26 and 42 tons, and which at the moment are being used for hands-on training in container handling.

To accelerate such activities in order to reach the stated goal of 100,000 containers per year, the terminal will train more than 100 workers with more than five years of

experience in port operations, who are currently benefiting from various courses involving the documentation and utilization of different types of machines in use at the port.

The source noted that a comparison between last year's production figures and those from the first five months of this year shows a marked increase on the order of 10 percent, a trend believed to be favorable for surpassing the production goals anticipated for this year. During the current six months the terminal handled 1,800 to 1,900 containers per month.

"With the total rehabilitation of the equipment fleet we can state without a doubt that Beira port will see qualitative advances, to the extent that new techniques are now being introduced for the improvement of port operations," our source said.

NOTICIAS found during the visit that everything depends on the quality of the labor force, since as long as that factor is assured there will be no operational problems in the range of projects to be integrated in the "Beira Corridor." Furthermore, there are no problems with the loading and unloading of the containers in the ships that have docked at that railway-port complex.

#### Ambulance for the Workers

Meanwhile, the Finnish Government has provided Beira port with an ambulance to transport injured workers to Beira Central Hospital, a measure aimed at protecting the health of the personnel.

The source said that in addition, Beira port will this year receive new TCM stacking equipment and a backhoe. He noted that Finland has already provided a total of \$400,000 for the acquisition of this equipment.

"I expect that Beira port will develop into the most modern and most competitive in the southern African region," he emphasized.

### Namibia

#### 18 September Press Review on 'Reconciliation'

MB1509093190

[Editorial report]

#### TIMES OF NAMIBIA

Forgiving and Reconciling With Whom?—Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA on 11 September, in a page 2 editorial, cites recent remarks by South-West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO, official Moses Garoeb, that SWAPO sees "reconciliation" as "forgetting the past and building the future. The papers says that all the real reconciliation was done through adopting a constitution and that Garoeb's remarks imply this "forgetting the past and building the future" idea applies only to whites, that SWAPO takes care of black interests. "Garoeb's account of reconciliation shows that SWAPO still has to accept that it

is not the sole and authentic voice of Namibians, of which the majority is not white." The editorial states SWAPO wants to tell non-SWAPO blacks that their interests will not be "catered for by SWAPO." The only option for non-SWAPO blacks, the paper says, is "To confess to the professional victims-turned political elite that they misguidedly aided 'selling out to whites', whatever that may mean, except not sharing SWAPO's blurred political and economic vision."

### Zimbabwe

#### Foreign Minister Calls for Continued Sanctions

MB1809174290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Harare Sept 18 SAPA—Zimbabwe Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira on Tuesday [18 Sep] said economic sanctions against South Africa should be maintained because the pillars of the apartheid system remained intact, the ZIANA news agency reports.

He reiterated the need for the international community to remain committed to the process of irreversible changes to apartheid before sanctions could be relaxed.

In a speech read on his behalf at a diplomatic function in Harare, Mr. Shamuyarira conceded that Pretoria had initiated some notable changes, including the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political movements, but the pillars of apartheid, like the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, still remained intact.

"Also, given that President de Klerk's reformist posture for a negotiated settlement is set to meet vigorous opposition from the majority of the white electorate, we call upon the international community to remain committed to the process of irreversible changes to apartheid before sanctions can be relaxed," he said.

#### Nkomo Discusses Women's Role, South Africa

MB1809061790 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2004 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Harare Sept 17 SAPA—Zimbabwean Vice-President [as received] Joshua Nkomo on Monday [17 Sep] night urged parliamentarians to encourage their governments to take a closer look at the issue of the status of women, reports ZIANA national news agency.

Addressing guests to a dinner hosted for delegates to the 36th Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) conference being held in Harare, Mr Nkomo said all over the world women were being down-trodden.

"The contribution of women to economic development, has in many instances never been given enough thought and it is generally appendage to that of man. In legal matters women have always been considered as minors," he said.

Mr Nkomo said it was necessary for the CPA to look at ways and means of strengthening the Commonwealth

for the future. Parliamentarians, he said, played an important role in promoting democracy.

"However, the concept of democracy always highlights the fact that man has a constant need to participate in the decisions which determine his destiny. Therefore in this day and age when we always have far reaching political, economic and social changes taking place, such participation is essential," he said.

—Commenting on the situation in South Africa, Mr Nkomo said it was the duty of the international community to encourage the warring parties in South Africa to continue with negotiations to establish democracy.

"The international community should not relax its pressure on the South African regime in order to maintain the momentum that has so far been achieved," he said.

#### Government To Implement Economic Recovery Program

MB1809175690 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1500 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The Zimbabwean Government has announced its decision to implement the first stage of its economic recovery program. The minister of finance and development [title as heard], Dr. Bernard Chidzero, told journalists in Harare that in the light of the Middle East crisis, which had worsened Zimbabwe's balance of payments, the government had also decided to include export and investment incentives.

Items that now fell under the newly liberalized policy on imports included cement products, packaging, and items for the textile industry. These items have been identified because of their importance to the Zimbabwean export industry.

Dr. Chidzero said the Zimbabwean Government had decided to introduce a scheme to stimulate the export sector. In the context of the new plan, Dr. Chidzero said the current bonus export scheme for exporters of manufactured goods would be increased from 25 percent to 30 percent.

Other reports said the World Bank would send senior officials to analyze the new economic reforms, and ascertain whether a market economy would really take root in Zimbabwe.

#### ACBI, World Bank Program Proposal Discussed

MB1809164490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1613 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Harare Sept 18 SAPA—An African capacity-building initiative (ACBI) aimed at making Africa's structural adjustment programmes sustainable has been proposed by the World Bank, reports Zimbabwe's news agency ZIANA.

The ACBI, a joint initiative of the African Development Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank would seek to:



- Create a consultative forum in which Africans could participate as full partners in the setting of priorities and the development of policies to promote capacity-building goals;
- Establish processes for coordinating capacity-building initiatives that would lead to greater efficiency and effectiveness of ongoing donor efforts;
- Increase the level of funding and resources available to enhance ongoing capacity-building interventions, as well as to finance promising new actions;
- Establish systematic links between research and training institutions and governments to foster greater understanding and communication between the two groups.

At a press briefing in the Zimbabwe capital on Tuesday [18 Sep], new World Bank representative to Zimbabwe Mr. Christiaan Poortman said the bank's programmes were aimed at supporting programmes initiated by governments.

He admitted there were some differences of opinions between the bank and some governments but said: "We do iron them out."

Mr. Poortman said the bank was making an effort to help resuscitate Africa's economy and that its presence in the continent should not be viewed as that of an imposer but of a body that intended to help out. He admitted that the bank's earlier programmes to resuscitate Africa's economy by reducing budget deficits had drawn a lot of criticism because it had affected the poor.

**\* CIO Seeks Origin of Allegations on Mugabe Wife**  
90AF0674A London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English  
3 Aug 90 p 2

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Harare—Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organi-

sation [CIO] is making a concerted effort to track down the origin of an alleged letter which purports to involve President Robert Mugabe's wife Sarah in gold and emerald deals in South Africa. Inquiries reveal that copies of it were first distributed earlier this year and were in the possession of some senior government officials.

Photocopies of the unsubstantiated document, giving advice to 'Dear Sarah' from A. Franks of First National Asset Management in Johannesburg, have now been more widely circulated. Both First National Asset Management and A. Franks, an officer of the company, exist. But Franks denied this week that Sarah 'Sally' Mugabe was a client or that he was in any way responsible for the missive. Franks is, in fact, responsible for the handling of deceaseds' estates and not for any other aspects of management or client liaison. He is a former Zimbabwe resident who moved to South Africa nine years ago.

The CIO is understood to be investigating the possibility that right-wing elements in the South African security services, including, perhaps, former 'Rhodesians,' may be encouraging rumour-mongering about Sally Mugabe.

The material, dated 7 March, states that 'a certain Mr Herman "Otto" ... presented your cheque for R750,000 [rands] drawn on your number two account' which apparently had insufficient funds. It goes on to warn: 'This gentleman then indelicately informed me that the amount involved was part of a payment from you and Sabina regarding a transaction in emeralds and gold.'

'Otto' then supposedly threatened to 'address a letter to you as Mrs Mubage'—instead of, apparently, using the pseudonym Ms S. Hofman—and send it through the Zimbabwe trade mission diplomatic bag'. Also mentioned in the alleged letter as owing money to 'Otto' are 'your sister and Ben Koufie' (Ghanaian director of coaching for the Zimbabwe Football Association).

## The Gambia

### Overture to Taylor's NPFL 'Still' Maintained

AB1809153090 Dakar PANA in English  
1434 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Dakar 18 Sept. (PANA)—Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor did not reject the peace proposals of the interim government on Liberia, contrary to foreign radio reports that he had done so, Radio Gambia reported on Tuesday [18 Sep].

The report quoted sources close to the interim government as saying that their overture to Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], the country's main rebel group, was still being maintained. This followed Sunday's return to Banjul of four members of the interim government, led by their president, Amos Sawyer, from a consultation tour of West African States.

Radio Gambia also reported that Lt. Gen. Arnold Quainoo, commander of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Ceasefire Monitoring Group in Liberia, arrived in Banjul Monday to see the ECOWAS chairman, Gambian President, Dawda Jawara. Jawara had just returned to Banjul Sunday after cutting short an overseas trip to hold further consultations on Liberia.

The radio further reported that on Monday, Gambia's minister for external affairs, Omar Sey, left Banjul for Freetown to meet US assistant secretary of states [as received] for African affairs, Herman Cohen, who is on a visit to the area. The radio did not give details about the reason for their meeting but said that it concerned the Liberian conflict.

## Ghana

### Police Prevent Launching of MFJ Branch

AB1909093690 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 17 Sep 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The launch last month in Ghana's capital, Accra, of the Movement for Freedom and Justice, MFJ, has brought political opposition in the country into focus. Since the MFJ appeared on the scene, it has been the cutting edge of a campaign for a multiparty system, clashing head on with the government's program for nonparty-based elections to local assemblies. The latest town scheduled for the launch of a local MFJ branch was Kumasi. But Saturday's [15 Sep] launch never came, as Ben Ephson reports in this telex from Accra:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The Kumasi inauguration of the Movement for Freedom and Justice never took place because the police refused to grant the permit. Police in riot gear patrolled the venue, Abbey Park, on Saturday morning to make sure that no gathering took

place. However, the MFJ managed to hold a press conference in Kumasi to speak their minds.

At the press conference, the first vice chairman of the MFJ, Mr. Johnny Hansen, challenged the validity of the police action in not granting a permit. He said that Section Eight of the Public Order Decree of 1972 places on the police an obligation to consider their application fairly and impartially. The fact that the police took a whole month to reply and then decided to ban the inauguration ceremony just five days before its was to happen vitiates, he said, all fairness and impartiality.

Mr. Hansen said that Section Eight of the decree clearly states that when an officer refuses to grant a permit, he must inform the applicant in writing of the reasons for his refusal. Clearly, he said, the burden is on the police to show good reason why an application should not be granted. The MFJ then claimed that there had been a series of threats by the government against them. For example, they said, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings himself had said on 25 August that those who use political meetings to insult and provoke the people should be aware that they might draw the wrath of the masses. Even more chilling, according to the MFJ, was an outburst by the Army commander, Ben Akafia, on 10 September when he is reported to have said that the government has a vision and the Armed Forces are prepared to defend it. Any provocations of the ruling PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] are provocations of the Armed Forces. [end recording]

## Guinea-Bissau

### Government 'Will Not' Join ECOMOG Troops

AB1909131290 Paris AFP in French 1107 GMT  
19 Sep 90

[Text] Bissau, 19 Sep (AFP)—Guinea-Bissau will not participate in the ECOMOG, the Cease-fire Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It has called, however, for an extraordinary ECOWAS summit an official communique issued in Bissau today stated.

The communique which was issued by the press office of the presidency of the Council of State (the ruling body), stated that this extraordinary ECOWAS summit, which should be attended by all the member states, should make it possible to "urgently define a platform for joint action in Liberia based strictly on the respect of the supreme interests of the Liberian people."

The communique also stated that the Guinea-Bissau Government "deeply deplores the current situation in Liberia where innocent people have been killed and property needed for the country's development has been destroyed."

The communique added that Guinea-Bissau, which did not participate in and was not briefed on the outcome of the ECOWAS minisummit on Liberia (held in Banjul early August), has no plan to join ECOMOG.

A delegation sent by the ECOWAS chairman, Gambian President Dawda Jawara and led by Gambian Foreign Minister Omar Sey, on 14 September delivered to the Guinea-Bissau head of state, General Joao Bernardo Vieira, a message on the Liberian situation and on ECOMOG. Reliable sources had said then that Guinea-Bissau had agreed, in principle, to participate in ECOMOG.

### Liberia

#### Offensive Delayed Due to 'Technical Problems'

AB1809191390 Paris AFP in English 1853 GMT  
18 Sep 90

[Text] Lagos, Sept 18 (AFP)—A Nigerian military operation against the Liberian rebel faction led by Charles Taylor has been scaled down because of technical problems, a source close to the government said here.

The source admitted that an attack and a parachute drop behind the lines of Mr. Taylor's National Patriotic Front (NPFL) announced on Sunday had not in fact taken place and was postponed because of problems in air-ground communications.

The source had said elite Nigerian paratroopers had gone into action with air cover from Jaguar, Mig and Alpha warplanes and Puma helicopters. However, Nigeria sent another warship to Liberia, a frigate, over the weekend, the source said on Tuesday [18 Sep].

A Nigerian airborne mission within the framework of West African military operations in Liberia was still on the cards, however, the source added.

Nigeria has provided the bulk of a peacekeeping force of more than 2,500 men sent into the civil war-torn country by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Informed sources in Freetown, Sierra Leone, reported on Tuesday that some 600 more Nigerian troops had gathered at the port there in preparation for departure to Monrovia.

Mr. Taylor, head of one of two rival rebel factions, has vowed to resist ECOWAS intervention and on Friday his forces shelled a Ghanaian naval vessel off the coast, killing four people and wounding 18.

### Mali

#### Minister Briefs Envoys on 'Armed Bandits' Attacks

AB1909095690 Bamako Domestic Service in French  
1500 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Dr. Ngolo Traore, minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, met this morning at the Autonomous Sinking Fund with heads of diplomatic and consular missions as well as representatives of international organizations in our country, who he briefed on the attack by armed bandits. This meeting centered on

the situation in the Sixth and Seventh Regions. During the meeting, Dr. Ngolo Traore presented in detail the facts of the matter and the measures taken by the Malian Government at the national level to cope with attacks by armed bandits, and at the subregional level with the Tamanrasset meeting, and the Djanet summit. Finally, he gave detailed information on the development of the situation, didn't he, Sidiki Konate?

[Konate] To inform in order to promote better understanding—that was the objective of this meeting. The idea was to provide the various heads of diplomatic and consular missions, and representatives of international organizations, accredited to our country with firsthand information on the situation in the Sixth and Seventh Regions since the attacks perpetrated by armed bandits against the peace-loving people and security forces of Manaka began on 28 July this year.

The armed bandits are, undoubtedly, Tuaregs who, after fleeing the serious drought of 1972-73, found refuge in Libya. In Libya, these Tuaregs, often for reasons of survival, were recruited into the Libyan Army and used at several war fronts where Libya was engaged in armed struggle. After their discharge from the Army, they returned to their countries of origin where they arrived already armed and trained militarily and ideologically at training camps to undertake sabotage and terrorist acts.

After the first attack, the Malian Government took major steps at the national level with a view to preserving peace and security in the zone, guaranteeing the security of foreigners operating locally in various cooperation and development organizations, and consolidating national cohesion and solidarity. A state of emergency was decreed until further notice in the Sixth and Seventh Regions. In line with their mission, soldiers and security forces stepped in to restore law and order, because in our country the notion of a soldier who builds and defends the nation has replaced that of a soldier who kills or oppresses the people.

On the subregional level, faithful to its policy of regional cooperation, Mali embarked on consultations with its neighbors to check the phenomenon immediately. It is against this background that one should view the interior ministers' meeting at Tamanrasset and the Djanet summit of the heads of Algeria, Libya, Niger, and Mali, whose objective was to forestall the internationalization of the situation. [passage omitted]

Faced with unobjective reports on the phenomenon and some misleading and stale versions according to which northern Mali is neglected in our country's development programs, Dr. Ngolo Traore set the records straight.

[Begin Traore recording] The northern part of the country has always received and continues to receive the special attention of the party and the government. From 1968 to date, the projects implemented in these regions total, in terms of funds disbursed or being disbursed, 161.24 billion CFA francs spread over 110 projects including, among others, 23 projects in the rural



economy sector at a cost of 33.20 billion CFA francs; 37 projects in the secondary sector, including rural water, irrigation and pastoral activities at a cost of 36.16 billion CFA francs; 30 projects in the infrastructure sector and 22 projects in the human resources sector at a cost of 21.98 billion. [passage omitted]

As was pointed out by General Moussa Traore, secretary general of the Democratic Union of Malian People, president of the republic, there has never been and will never be any Tuareg issue, no more than there has ever been a Malinke, a Bambara, a Songhai, or (?Dogon), issue or any other issue. And, as was decried by the [word indistinct] heads, the acts we deplore are perpetrated by nonrepresentative elements of the Malian nomad Tuareg population, elements who disregard the profound attachment of these Tuaregs to national unity.

Mali is one and indivisible. It draws its strength and stability from its unity, and its cultural wealth from its diversity. In the field, at present, the situation is coming, increasingly, under the control of the security forces with the full cooperation of the people in general and of the Tuareg population in particular which is not in any way whatsoever linked with the misled elements who first attacked them. [end recording]

## Niger

### Foreign Minister Interviewed on Tuareg Conflict

AB1809190390 Niamey Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Foreign Minister Mahamane Sani Bako interview by Radio France Internationale correspondent Danielle Leduc on the occasion of the visit of Bernard Kuschner, French secretary of state for humanitarian action, to Niamey—live or recorded; date and place not given]

[Text] [Sani Bako] This visit was really important, as it enabled Mr. Kuschner to go to the field to see the people, to acquaint himself with the ins and outs of the events of Tchén-Tabaradene, and it was concluded this morning with talks yesterday with the president of the Republic. And I think that Mr. Kuschner is definitely leaving with a truer, more realistic picture, so to speak, of what transpired and the solutions that we are trying to find to the situation.

[Leduc] The Niger Government invited Amnesty International as well as a delegation of the European Parliament to come to the spot. Have you so far received any response to this invitation?

[Sani Bako] No, we have not received any response. But, you know, we have constantly been in touch. Since the Tchén-Tabaradene events, we have had the opportunity to exchange correspondence with both Amnesty International and the European Parliament—which is not a bad thing, since it was an AFP telex which informed us that the European Parliament is also concerned about what happened at Tchén-Tabaraden.

We continue, at any rate, to keep in touch. As was already stated by the president of the Republic and repeated by me on another occasion, we have nothing to hide with regard to this Tchén-Tabaradene affair. For you now know the circumstances that led to this event which recently occurred. There was an attack. As a result, there were deaths. There was an attack on the institutions of the Republic—that is, the Republican Gendarmerie—and obviously, like any self-respecting government, it reacted, and now people are seeking to establish a relationship between those who attacked and those who had to be pursued [words indistinct]. But at any rate, as I said and as the president stated, we are quite open to any person who would like to come to the spot and see the Niger (?people), see all its (?components), see its regions, and, if possible, try to come up with the relevant solutions.

[Leduc] Could we come back to this Tchén-Tabaraden affair? There are still a number of people under judicial inquiry. For the time being, could we know if for some of them there is now talk of putting them on trial and when [words indistinct]?

[Sani Bako] Yes, the process is in motion. Indeed, there was first of all a [word indistinct] which was conducted and which led to the arrest of a number of people considered to be persons who could be released [words indistinct], since a short while ago we [words indistinct] to Mr. Kuschner. All those who were caught holding weapons will be tried. Those who did not possess any weapons were entitled to be released, and that was precisely what was done. After the investigations, the preliminary judicial inquiries opened by the (?Benome) examining magistrate got underway and are now virtually over, and in principle, the State Security Court will now have to examine all the dockets and convene its sessions. I am unable to tell you exactly when this will take place because, admittedly, this kind of job calls for difficult preparations, and I believe that in line with the directives of the president of the Republic, the court procedures will be conducted regularly and in accordance with the rules which have just been [words indistinct]. [end recording]

## Nigeria

### General Babangida Receives Kuwait, Togo Envoys

AB1809171790 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Nigeria has reaffirmed her support for the United Nations resolution on the Gulf crisis. President Babangida restated this in Lagos today while speaking to the Kuwaiti minister of communications and special envoy, Mr. Habib Hayat, who came to brief him on the current situation in the Gulf. Mr. Hayat told the president that the Kuwaitis had suffered untold hardship as a result of Iraq's aggression and appealed for Nigeria's support.

Also today at Dodan Barracks, the Togolese foreign minister, Mr. Yaovi Adodo, briefed General Babangida about Togo's proposals for achieving peace in Liberia. Mr. Adodo

brought a special message from President Gnassingbe Eyadema. Gen. Babangida thanked Mr. Adodo for the message and briefing and assured Togo of Nigeria's cooperation in moves to find a peaceful solution to the Liberian crisis in the interests of the Liberian people and ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States].

### **Liberian Peace Proposal Presented**

*AB1909094590 Paris AFP in French 1555 GMT  
18 Sep 90*

[Text] Lagos, 18 Sep (AFP)—Today in Lagos Togolese Foreign Minister Yaovi Adodo presented to President Ibrahim Babangida a Togolese proposal aimed at restoring peace in Liberia. The proposal, whose contents were not disclosed to the press, was contained in a special message from Togolese President Gnassingbe Eyadema to the Nigerian head of state, according to a spokesman at the presidency in Lagos.

In his reply, General Babangida assured Togo of Nigeria's cooperation in all efforts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the conflict "in the interest of Liberians and of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)," the spokesman stated. Their discussions also touched on the Togolese stand on the ECOMOG, the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, in which the Nigerian contingent is by far the largest and in which Togo did not participate, informed sources in Lagos indicated.

### **Senegal**

#### **\* World Bank on Structural Adjustment, Reaction**

##### **\* Bank 'Disappointment' Alleged**

*90AF0566A Dakar SUD HEBDO in French  
13 Jul 90 p 6*

[Article by El Hadj Kasse: "The Truth About the World Bank"]

[Excerpt] Is the adjustment program up a blind alley? In any case, the World Bank is no longer concealing its disappointment in the Senegalese Government. Moreover, has it ever concealed it?

Actually, the official statements do not conceal very well that financial institution's implacable rigor. The speeches on the success of the structural adjustment program are indeed far from corresponding to the facts. In its memo of 22 May 1990, the first adjustment credit supervision mission revealed that the chief focal points of the program now in progress do not show any noticeable improvement.

This observation merited a letter from Michael J. Gillette to President Abdou Diouf on 1 June 1990 in which the head of the World Bank's Sahel Department emphasized that "the pace at which the program is being implemented continues to be disturbing," since, with reference to the schedule anticipated in the development policy letter

(LPD), delays are having an effect on the implementation of practically all phases of the program."

The LPD specifies the framework of the agreements between the World Bank and the Senegalese Government. The principal focal points of the program are: the state's disengagement [of its control over the economy] and privatization, transfers of some budget items to certain parapublic agencies, the policy of voluntary departures to relieve payrolls, modernization of the administrative machinery, and, last, the energy sector. According to Mr. Gillette's letter, only three of the 30 enterprises anticipated have been completely privatized.

Mr. Gillette also appeals to President Abdou Diouf's government "to reaffirm its explicit political determination." Actually, despite a preliminary technical effort deemed to be satisfactory, the state's disengagement and privatization appear to be bogged down in a dead end today, all the more so since further progress is doubtful, according to some officials. In connection with this, the bank does not seem to think very much of the government's budgetary transfer policy. According to Mr. Gillette, the total of subsidies to the public enterprises and institutions anticipated in the LPD will be largely exceeded by the Senegalese Government: by 1.2 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs in 1989-90 and by 600 million CFA francs in 1990-91. So, grim cuts in the so-called "nonproductive" public service budgets are to be anticipated in the near future. As for voluntary departures, Mr. Gillette notes in his letter to the president that the program "is, as of now, very far behind the objectives set in the LPD."

Yet, this is one of the decisive focal points for the "modernization of the Civil Service" and the "achievement of balance in public finances" through the setting of sensible limits on wages. Why don't the officials targeted by the state want to leave? In any case, as far as the bank is concerned, it is advisable to "provide this program with another shot in the arm." This explains the postponement of the deadline for signing up for voluntary departures, initially set at 30 June, to 31 August 1990 as ordained by Executive Order No. 90-754 of 30 June 1990. Thus, we are far from the "success recorded for the operation," as the report that appeared in the Thursday, 5 July 1990, issue of LE SOLEIL would have us believe. But the question that we are asking ourselves is the following: What will happen if the officials targeted by the state still do not sign up [for voluntary departure]? The assumption that there will be "voluntary departures"—and this includes those sectors that are initially protected, like the health and education sectors—must no longer be excluded. What does this passage of the abovementioned report actually mean: "In addition, the candidacies of members of the teaching profession who no longer teach and of members of the public health profession who no longer work on hospital teams...may be taken into consideration..."? At any rate, the bank continues to insist on a reduction of civil service personnel. Now, the Senegalese Government has enough on its hands with the political and social crisis for it to allow its opponents' sphere of influence to expand. So? Well, the bank is reconsidering its differences with the state agencies with regard to the energy

sector. As far as the bank is concerned, it is advisable to decide on the fixed supplement to be paid to the African Refining Company (SAR) at a level in keeping with the final objective of the price reform of petroleum products. This figure comes to \$0.50 a barrel, whereas the state agencies have proposed \$3.11 a barrel, which, according to the bank, represents a loss of budget revenue of at least 3 billion CFA francs a year. In connection with this, the bank is insisting on an essential requirement, as Mr. Gillette indicates in his letter.

So, where are the successes of the structural adjustment program that have been achieved since it was instituted? At any rate, in complaining about the "serious backsliding and delays," the memo that was accompanied by Mr. Gillette's letter is far removed from the triumphant official statements of the Senegalese Government, as it also is from the bank. And just think: We've only just begun! [passage omitted]

#### \* Government Reply

90AF0566B Dakar SUD HEBDO in French  
19 Jul 90 p 7

[Government clarification following publication of article on structural adjustment program that appeared in 13 July issue of SUD HEBDO: "Progress Report on Structural Adjustment Program"]

[Text] On 13 July in the last issue of SUD HEBDO, in an article titled "The Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) Is Lagging Behind," we reported on a letter addressed to the chief of state by Sahel Department director Michael Gillette, in which he cited "serious backsliding and delays" that have been experienced in the execution of the plan of action that the Senegalese Government is implementing in connection with the SAP.

In that letter, dated 1 June 1990, Mr. Gillette attributes the delays in carrying out the program to the following four phases:

- The state's disengagement and its policy on contracts;
- The transfer of budget items
- The voluntary departure program;
- The cost of energy.

Before shedding light on these specific issues, it is essential for us to specify the conditions under which cooperation with providers of funds, particularly the World Bank, is carried on.

The financial assistance Senegal is provided with by financial backers in the form of aid for the balance of payments or for the budget is designed to support the efforts launched during the period in which structural reforms are instituted, for which they guarantee financing complementary to funds mobilized locally.

These structural reforms are primarily organized in terms of action plans that set specific deadlines for the execution of these measures through a schedule mutually agreed upon with our partners. Those measures deemed to be important

to the adjustment process, which are referred to under the generic term "conditionalities," when loan installments are paid, are taken from this schedule.

With regard to this, the World Bank credit agreement that supports the program was agreed to and signed in February 1990 and the first installment was disbursed at the end of March 1990. Only 45 days after the first installment, earmarked to help finance the actions planned by the government, the World Bank sent a mission.

Insofar as can be judged from Mr. Gillette's letter, the evaluations of the results of the mission are, to say the least, premature and therefore exaggerated when we consider the fact that the actions constituted by the disbursement conditions for the second phase must for the most part take place between 30 June and 30 September 1990. Judge for yourselves on the basis of the points noted above and that were raised in the last issue of SUD HEBDO.

#### On disengagement and the contract policy:

As concerns privatization, the government's "commitment" involves the sale of shares held by the state in the enterprises that are to be privatized since their actual acquisition depends on potential buyers. According to the schedule, nine (9) enterprises must be put up for sale by 30 September 1990. Of these, two are in the process of being liquidated and three have actually been put up for sale (HAMO [expansion unknown], the Mboro fruit-growing project, and SIPOA [expansion not given]). As for the remaining four enterprises (Dakar-Marine, SODEHME [expansion not given], BICIS [International Bank of Commerce and Industry of Senegal], and CNCAS [National Agricultural Credit Fund]), the process has progressed far enough for the deadlines to be met.

As for the signing of the operating contracts, five enterprises were involved on 30 June 1990. Three contracts were signed on 30 June 1990 (HLM [expansion unknown], SONATRA [National Air Transport Company], and PAD [expansion unknown]). The other two (SENELEC [Senegal Electric Company] and OPCE [expansion unknown]) were postponed at the specific request of the World Bank in order to be able to take into account for SENELEC, for example, the conclusions of the financial backers meeting with regard to the energy needs anticipated by December 1990.

#### On transfers of budget items:

The planning of subsidies established by the authorities covers two fiscal years (1989-90 and 1990-91) and, while some excesses have recently been noted, steps have been taken to completely wipe them out between now and the end of fiscal year 1990-91.

The measures recommended to accomplish this were, moreover, discussed and agreed to by the bank at the time of the joint mission it recently conducted with the International Monetary Fund.

#### On the voluntary departure program:



The program for the voluntary departure of government officials has largely achieved the objectives set for it. In fact, the program, which was supposed to begin before the end of 1989, established as its initial objective the voluntary departure of nearly 2,850 persons by 30 June 1990. Now, as you know, because of the actual establishment of the program, it did not begin until April 1990. By 30 June 1990, despite this change in schedule, 2,017 applications had been accepted by the Voluntary Departure Commission and hundreds of others are being examined. This means that the operation has produced and continues to produce a definitely enthusiastic response among government officials which, contrary to what the article appears to suggest, explains the extension of the deadline for submitting applications.

#### On the energy sector:

To bring the oil marketing channel more out into the open, in December 1989 the government revised the price structure for oil products by setting an import parity price based on prices for finished products in effect on the international market to which a supplement would be added, permitting the African Refining Company (SAR) to pursue its refining operations under satisfactory economic and financial conditions.

A study to determine the amount of this supplement was made by an advisory office of international repute, the conclusions of which were discussed in detail by the World Bank and other providers of funds. In any case, it seems that an agreement on this matter was reached at the time of the last joint World Bank-International Monetary Fund mission's visit to Dakar in early July 1990.

All things considered, contrary to what seems to emerge from the letter alluded to by the newspaper SUD HEBDO, no delays have been encountered in implementing the program. It is progressing normally and the community of fund providers is the first to recognize the efforts made by the government in this area.

Senegal continues to be cited as an example because of the rigor with which it is carrying out its program. As proof of this, we need go no further than the press conference held by Under Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen in Washington on 12 July, during which Senegal's efforts were emphasized.

That is to say that the government is not patting itself on the back, but that the results of the program are there to prove that the situation is improving, as Senegal's performance over the past few years indicates, namely:

- A GDP rate of 3.7 percent in 1985, 4.4 percent in 1986, and 4.7 percent in 1987 ("Report on Economic and Financial Statistics for Africa," p. 17, World Bank-UNDP [UN Development Program], May 1990);
- A rate of inflation that went from 12.7 percent in 1984 to 2.6 percent in 1989;
- A current GDP balance deficit that was reduced to 3.5 percent in 1989 from 10.8 percent in 1984;
- A global balance-of-payments balance that went from

-12.7 billion in 1984 to +34.8 billion in 1989;

- A budget deficit that went from 4.7 percent of the GDP in 1983-84 to 2.1 percent in 1988-89.

#### Editor's Note

This reaction applies only indirectly to SUD HEBDO, which in fact has a copy of the letter sent to the chief of state by Mr. Gillette and that has been authenticated by both local and international sources. The "backsliding" and "delays" as well as the difference of opinion over the rate of growth of the GDP emanated from the World Bank, at which these clarifications were certainly aimed.

### Sierra Leone

#### Minister on Elections, Multiparty Politics

AB1909091590 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 18 Sep 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Sierra Leone Government of President Joseph Momoh has been facing increasing demands to take the country in the direction of the rest of Africa and permit multiparty politics. The calls have come from professional groups such as lawyers and teachers, but there have been also street demonstrations. The government's line remains at least in public that there is no need for a system to replace the existing one-party state. However, they have set up a constitutional review committee whose brief is to look at the modalities of transforming Sierra Leone into a multiparty state. The minister of internal affairs, Ahmed Edward Sesay is in London at the moment. Josephine Hazeley asked him who was on the committee.

[Begin recording] [Sesay] It is composed of all members of the Sierra Leone community. It has the Chamber of Commerce, the Association of Lawyers, all sorts, parliamentarians, paramount chiefs, people in the private sector, so the entire community of Sierra Leone has been accommodated to be on this National Constitution Review Committee. So that is the way we hope that the community, the Sierra Leonean community, will come out and express its wish to change a situation as it wishes.

[Hazeley] Is the formation of this national committee for democracy not a means of buying time as it were, so as to kill off the resolve for the call for multiparty democracy?

[Sesay] Not at all, not at all. Our president has made open and public pronouncements that he believes that there should be a free participation of the people whom decisions at a high level will affect. They should be involved in that decisionmaking process, and if we want to have a change of system in the government, we would have to refer to the Constitution. It is the Constitution that gives the legal instrument, the legal enforcement to such a change, and if the government has set up a nationwide embracing committee to look at it, that is surely the first step in the right direction.

[Hazeley] And how do you personally feel about a multiparty system? Is it something you yourself will want to see reintroduced in Sierra Leone?

[Sesay] Quite honestly, as a person I would like to have that system of government in our country because it is a system that ensures or guarantees checks and balances. It does not allow for complacency; it will allow people to give account and to know that they are responsible to give account of their stewardship to their people, and it is a challenging situation that allows everybody to be dynamic and to be able to allow for challenges or positive opposition in the interest of all in the community.

[Hazeley] If we can turn our attention now to the preparations your ministry is making for the forthcoming national and local elections in Sierra Leone, can you tell me what the government is doing in ensuring that the elections take place in a free and fair atmosphere?

[Sesay] Where (?we had) hitherto used multiple box, the electoral provisions would now reflect a single ballot box. And wherever we have used ballot tokens or labels, we would now instead have ballot paper. And we also have agreed to change the voting age from 21 to 18.

[Hazeley] Why do you want to change the system of using marbles to ballot paper? What is the thinking behind this change?

[Sesay] Well from experience we have come to appreciate that the multiple ballot box system is prone to misuse, and it often creates a lot of conflicts because one candidate realizing that he is sure to lose would want to interfere with the other candidate's box. But where everybody's interest is in one box, naturally, one would not want to interfere.

[Hazeley] So finally there is the admission that there has been wide-scale rigging of elections in the country.

[Sesay] Well I mean it was prone, but wherever it had occurred the necessary action to invalidate such elections had taken place.

[Hazeley] It is not a hidden fact that quite a lot of fighting and killings do occur during election time in Sierra Leone. What sort of preparation are you making to ensure that it does not happen this time around?

[Sesay] Well quite honestly, this in fact is one of the reasons that we have decided to change from multiple box system, and over and above this general elections are not as pugnacious as you tend to describe it. We would like to have an atmosphere of ease, of comfort, of relaxation, so that people can come forward and vote for the candidate of their choice.

[Hazeley] But that is always said, minister, but it never happens. I mean come election day or the eve of the election, all sorts of weird stories are heard; I mean all sorts of irregularities take place.

[Sesay] Well we will do everything possible to ensure indeed in the words of our president, His Excellency Dr. Joseph Saidu Momoh, that everybody in the society has an opportunity to freely participate and be involved in the decisionmaking process. [end recording]

#### African Diplomats 'Unimpressed' by Cohen Visit

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[Text] Freetown, Sept 18 (AFP)—U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen left here Tuesday [18 Sep] for Monrovia aboard a U.S. helicopter and is to return this evening, a U.S. spokesman said. Informed sources said he will travel on from the international airport to other West African countries in his sub-regional tour.

Mr. Cohen arrived here late Monday at the start of the tour to discuss developments in Liberia's bloody civil war. He is to travel to Ivory Coast, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Guinea, a U.S. embassy spokesman said Tuesday.

Meanwhile African diplomats here said they were unimpressed by the intervention of Mr. Cohen, as fighting reportedly still raged in Monrovia. One said, "Nobody knows what the United States policy towards Liberia is even though the killings are still going on."

One diplomat said "the Americans have all the logistics, the warships, marines and armaments. They should have gone in long ago" before the conflict escalated.

Another diplomat said, "A week today, we asked the Americans to airlift 11 wounded soldiers (of the West African peace-keeping force) but they flatly refused. So what needs is he going to assess and on whose behalf?"

Other diplomatic sources described the situation in war-torn Liberia as "still grave."

Meanwhile informed sources said here Tuesday that rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, (NPFL) were holding about 1,000 Ghanaians hostages. They were mainly teachers, doctors, businessmen and fishermen, the sources said.

A final contingent of 600 Nigerian soldiers assembled at the port here Tuesday for departure to Monrovia but there was no word as to when they might leave. A top Nigerian military officer said the main concern is the security of the two merchant ships, the Tano River of Ghana and the River Oli of Nigeria in which the troops were due to leave.

The officer indicated the stricken Ghanaian patrol boat *Yogaga* which was hit by two shells on Friday at Monrovia port. The officer said four Ghanaian naval officers died in the shelling.

An 11-man delegation from Ghana, led by assistant foreign minister Iben Chambas, narrowly escaped death in the attack.

The so-called peace-keeping force of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has recently been forced on the offensive in Liberia after coming increasingly under attack by rebels, chiefly since the reported killing on September 10 of President Samuel Doe.

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**DATE FILMED**

20 Sept. 1990



